AN INSTITUTION OF General History, OR THE HISTORY OF THE Ecclesiastical Affairs OF THE WORLD.

Contemporary with

The Second Part.

CONTAINING

That of the *Roman* Empire, its first countenancing and receiving Christian Religion.

FROM

The Conversion of *Constantine* the *Great*, to the Fall of *Augustulus*, and the Ruine of the Empire in the West.

WITH

An Account of the Polity of the Church, and the several Laws and Canons of Moment made, during the Reign of the Emperours both in East and West to this period.

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C 2 vol

TO THE

HIGH and MIGHTY

PRINCE,

JAMES the II.

King of *Great Britain, France,* and *Ireland,*

Defender of the Faith, *&c.*

GREAT SIR,

AMONG the Crowds of Loyal Counties andCorporations that Addreſs themſelves unto Your MAJESTY, vouchſafe to permit a Deſolate Widow to approach into Your Sacred Preſence, to congratulate Your Happy and moſt Juſt Poſſeſſion of the Throne of theſe Kingdoms,by laying a ſmall Preſent at Your Royal Feet.

Which is due to Your MAJESTY by a double Title: both by Right of Succeſſion to our Late Gracious Soveraign, by whoſe Royal Bounty this Work was encouraged,and alſo by the Deſignment of the Author, who intended, had not His Death prevented it, to have Dedicated this Book *to His Royal Highneſs* JAMES *the Duke of* York, which I now moſt Humbly offer to *the Sacred Majeſty of King* JAMES *the Second.*

Whom I beſeech the King of Kings long to Preſerve Beloved of all His Subjects, Dreaded by all His Enemies, and Renowned to all Poſterity in the Hiſtory of future Ages.

So Prayeth with due Reverence,

Your Majeſties

Moſt Loyal Subject

Mary Howel.

PREFACE.

THE *Author having all along in his* first part, *intermixed the* Ecclesiastical *Affairs with the Secular, thought it would be most useful now, to represent them by themselves, separately, in a distinct Volume, which is here presented to the* Reader; *wherein he hath brought down his account of them, to the* Fall *of* Augustulus *and the* ruine *of the* Empire *in the* West (*where the* Second part *ends*) *setting forth how the Great Emperour* Constantine *was converted to the* Faith, *and what means and methods he took to propagate the* Christian Religion, *and destroy by degrees the long practised Idolatry of the* Pagan *World. With an account of the* Church Polity; *what was its* Government, *who were its* Governours, *their several* Offices, Degrees, *and* Orders. *The Affairs of the Church follow from the* first *General Council of* Nice *against the* Arians, *to the Apostacy of* Julian; *thence to the* Second *General Council, summoned by* Théodosius the First *at* Constantinople, *against the Hæresie of* Macedonius: *thence to the* Third, *call'd by* Theodosius the Second *to meet at* Ephesus; *against the Hæresie of* Nestorius; *and thence to the* Fourth, *called by* Martianus *to* Chalcedon, *against the Hæresie of* Eutyches *and* Dioscorus; *and so down to the deposing of* Augustulus, *and the* Fall *of the* Empire *in the* West, *with the division of the* Church *into the* East *and* West. *The* Decrees *and* Canons *of each Council are set down, both for the settling good Order and Government, and for suppressing those Schisms and Hæresies which the Devil raised by his aspiring Agents, that by sowing such* Tares *he might spoyl* Christs Husbandry.

In

In particular, that supream Authority *usurped by the* Roman Bishop *is represented, how, and by what means it was first pretended to, but ever rejected by the whole* Catholick Church: *Which gives to each* Metropolitan *the sole jurisdiction over his own* Flock, *not any* General Commission *to any* one *whatsoever, for the supervising of* all, *their* Authority *being* equal, *and their* Power *the* same:

Thus far he proceeded, and left it finished under his own hand, as we testifie, who have seen the Original.

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Rich. Ashfeild Gen.

THE

THE Church History, OR THE ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS Contemporary with the Constantinopolitan Roman EMPIRE.

CHAP. I.

The History of the Reformation of Religion by Constantine.

1. SUfferings had hitherto been the Character of the Church, and the Professors of Christianity, the more Active and Vigorous they appear'd, the more exquisite Torments they were sure to undergo; the Kings and Potentates of the Earth instead of being her Nursing-Fathers, had all along made use of their utmost Power and policy not only to Curb and Check her growing Greatness, but utterly to extirpate her from off the face of the Earth; so that what Advances she yet made were in despight of the Malice of her Persecutors, and the Fruits she brought forth were the blessed product of the Blood of her Martyrs. But now in compassion to her Afflictions, and in pity to the Pangs and Struglings she laboured under, God raises up *Constantine*, not only to be a Protector, but himself a Professor of Christianity, that so his Church might have some respite, and enjoy at least a breathing-while in the midst of these her Terrours and Agonies.

The Church and State united.

2. The Name of Christ had mightily prevail'd, and the Church of God was upheld by a most powerful Support before ever she leaned on the *Roman* Scepter, the Wings upon which she was Born, and under which she was Cherished and Defended, were stronger and more large then those of the *Roman* Eagle, which hitherto had improved the Vigour of its Eyes, strength of its Beak, and sharpness of its Talents in vain, against this Bird of Paradise. Neither was it out of need of Reputation, that the *Roman* Fasces now was to be vailed to the Cross, the Churches Majesty and Glory never more appearing, than when she was most clouded by Sufferings and Worldly Prejudice; as the deepest and blackest Clouds are most capable of receiving the reflection of the Suns Beauties, and a thick Air the best Medium to discover the Brightness of Heavenly Bodies. These stupendious Miracles that stopped and diverted the course of Nature her self, both in the bigger and lesser World; in that by the production of Wonders to the outward Senses, in this by working Effects perceivable both by the outward and inward Sight, to such as were not blinded by ignorance, prejudice or affectation, demon-

monstrated such incomparable Beauty, as would dazle all the Glories of the World though contracted into one Sun. Miracles wrought upon material Subjects, and such as neither the Art of *Pagans*, nor Skill of the False Gods (who were also obnoxious to the same Commands) could work, carried with them sufficient Evidence; but those that appeared in Mens minds, transformed quite from their ordinary Condition, by such Virtues as were but Antiently Pictured on the greatest Philosophers, carried along with them absolute demonstrations to unprejudiced Judgments, and left others without excuse. But contempt of the φόβερων φοβερώτατον made much more sure by the Circumstances attending it; Triumph I say over Death, manifested not only the Reality but Glory of the Truth, which struck the World with admiration and conviction, for that the only Prodigy now, that Man seemed, who could be so stupid as not to believe. Greater were the Conquests the Church made by her Spiritual Weapons, *viz.* Prayers and Tears, than by the accession of Secular Arms, and stronger her Natural Power (that is also Spiritual) Reputation, than that she obtained by the addition of a Temporal Crown.

3. Yet was she to try all Conditions, and be now refreshed after so great Conflicts as she had sustained. Gods Power is also seen in calling those that have the greatest Temptations, and in giving sight to such whose Eyes are put out by too near Approximation to Worldly, but dazling Objects: Neither were such Functions as he Established by his own Institution to be disowned by a want of real and the best Acknowledgments, nor such as were Gods in this Life by his appointment, to be the only Persons that were to be Devils in that to come. Therefore after 312. Years or more (during which space we have no assurance that any *Roman* Prince unfeignedly became a Christian) *Constantine* the Emperour the Son of *Constantius* and *Helena* a British Woman Converted to the Faith by a Vision of a Cross seen in the Air, wherein was this *Greek* Inscription, ἐν τούτῳ νικᾶ, or, *In this Overcome*, as he Marched against *Maxentius* the great Persecutor of Christians. This all Christian Writers affirm, and as (*a*) *Eusebius* tells us, *Constantine* himself by Oath affirmed; neither need we at all to question the Truth of it; For that God made use of Miracles upon extraordinary Occasions, we must not doubt, and such we must confess this to have been, if the extraordinary Condition of the Person, and the vast Consequences be duly considered. That Miracles as at this time were not ceased utterly, we may believe from that reason which was ever the final Cause of them, and from the Testimony of several Writers, who discourse of the first Plantation of Religion amongst Barbarous Nations long after this Season, whom it is little less than arrogance to Condemn of Falshood (although perhaps too Credulous in some Particulars) because as extraordinary means seem necessary for the Conversion of Later, as were used for the Conviction of former Disciples. This Conversion of *Constantine* was in the Seventh of his Reign, the Fourth Year of the 272. Olympiad, of *Rome* the 1065. *A. D.* 312. He himself the Second time, and *Licinius* his Colleague also the second time being Consuls.

Constantine Converted to the Faith.

(*a*) *In vita Constantini, cap.* 22.

4. Being fully instructed in that way into which he had been so Miraculously led, he resolved to proceed in despight of all opposition, he found the Church in such a Case as required an Healing, helping and delivering, not an adorning hand, her Wounds were deep and her Enemies strong, and many who lately had got such success, as they esteemed it, that puffed up in their Imaginations they determined to think of opposition for the future, although the Blood of the Martyrs, contrary both to their expectation and desire, still proved the Seed of the Church. Knowing therefore, like a Skilful Physitian, the true Method of her Cure, he first applyed such a Medicine, as both should heal her Wounds, and what was more, make her Sword Proof for the time to come; Publishing an Edict both in his own Name and that of *Licinius*, (after the Victory obtained against *Maxentius*) whereby it is declared, that (*a*) *Liberty henceforth be denied to none, of Chusing or Following the Christian Service and Religion; but that Liberty be granted to every one, to addict his mind to that Religion, which he thinketh fit for him.* A slow but sure pace in things of such Consequence and difficulty is the best, all sudden and Violent Mutations are as to the Body Natural, so also to the Civil and Spiritual very dangerous, one very Pletherick and weak is gently to be Purged, lest together with some Humours, Life it self is forced out; neither is a quite contrary Dyet allowed all on a sudden, by that genuine saying of *Æsculapius Festina lente, Constantine* had learnt from one of his Predecessors; and *sat cito, si sat bene*; he knew agreeable to Christian Politicks. It is true that Idolatry is not to be

By an Edict gives Liberty of Conscience.

(*a*) *Eusebius Hist. Lib.* 10. *cap.* 5.

per-

permitted a Moment, and the first Minute is the fittest to abolish it: But a possibility must then be allowed. Idolatry had taken too deep Root to be Eradicated in an instant, nay, many Years were required to do it as we shall see in due time and order, Long Presciption and present Possession are great obstacles to disseisin, especially when backed with Dignity and Power. And such was the Tenure Idolatry held by at this time, Fool-hardiness and fury are the greatest Enemies to Religion; a thing of the greatest Sobriety and profound Prudence in the World.

5. *Constantine* having thus secured the being, as much as in him lay, provided for the well-being (*a*) of Christians; not only by his private Contributions; but by an (*b*) Edict in his Name and that of *Licinius*, directed to *Anulinus* Proconsul of *Africk*, whereby it is decreed that Possessions or any Goods belonging to the Church in former Times, should be restored, (*c*) and Freeing the Bishops and Clergy-men from publick Burthens, such (*d*) as were Banished into Islands, or elsewhere, or (*e*) Condemned to the Mines, were restored to their Natural Freedom; Honours (*f*) both Military and Civil, were restored to such as had lost them upon this account. The (*g*) Estates of Martyrs, Professors of Religion, or such as forsook their Country for the sake of it, were appointed to the next a Kin; and to (*h*) those that had not Kindred, the Church became Heirs; provided that whatsoever they gave in their Life-time should stand good. Those (*i*) that possessed their Lands, Orchards and Houses, were Compelled to restore them back, but not to make any satisfaction for the Rents or Fruits which they had received. (*k*) All Church Lands or Goods in possession of the Imperial Crown, he restored. He (*l*) desired all Men to be Christians, but compelled none, striving by the greatness of his Example to draw them to the Truth; for his Palace (*m*) resembled a Church, where Godly People assembled together; and he refused to celebrate the Secular Games which fell in his Third Consulship, to the great grief of the *Pagans*, who accounted them Instituted by their Gods, and presented by the Sybilline Oracles for remedies against Famine Plague and VVar, they accounted therefore this Omission of them as an Ominous sign of the Ruin of the Empire, and *Zosimus* most bravely avoweth it such, having no other Design as he himself witnesseth of Writing his History, then to show for sooth that the Ruin of the Empire came by the means of Christians.

Orders the Church Lands to be restored, and is further kind to the Church.

Omits the Celebration of the Secular Games.

(*a*) *Euseb. Hist. Lib.* 10. *Cap.* 2. & 6.
(*b*) *Idem. ibid. Cap.* 5.
(*c*) *idem ibid Cap.* 7.
(*d*) *Idem in vita Caes. c.* 30. 31.
(*e*) *Idem ibid Cap.* 32.
(*f*) *Cap.* 33. 34.
(*g*) *Cap.* 35.
(*h*) *Cap.* 36.
(*i*) *Cap.* 37.
(*k*) *Cap.* 39.
(*l*) *Idem. l.* 2. *Cap.* 55.
(*m*) *Idem l.* 4. *c.* 17.

6. The Original and cause of all Mischiefs, he maketh the Omission of this Solemnity by *Constantine*, whom like an Heathen and prejudiced Person, he loadeth with all sorts of Calumnies out of Malice; whereas it's clear by Testimony of all Writers, that the Ages wherein these Secular Games were Celebrated, neither wanted Plague, Famine nor War, but conflicted with all sorts of Miseries; and in the contrary, this present was vow'd of them being very Fortunate both to the City and the World; so many Tyrants and Barbarous Enemies being Suppressed; but when through the importunity of the *Gentiles* these Games were restored by permission of *Honorius* the Christian Emperour, the former Evils returned as we shall see in due place. But the *Pagans* greviously Troubled and Afflicted with this prosperity of Christianity, which they saw could not be Extirpated by such and so many Persecutions, to divert their Grief, invented certain Greek Verses, as given out to one that consulted an Oracle wherein they declared *Christ* innocent of this Error of Sacriledge as they called it, but accused St. *Peter* as Author of that wickedness that he might be Worshipped in Christs Name, for the space of 365. Years, after which time this Worship was to have an end without delay.

7. *Constantine* continuing his Reformation as the Times and import of the matter would bear, in the Tenth Year of his Reign, and the Third of his Conversion, he published an Edict whereby he prohibited, that any Christian Maid-Servants should be delivered into the hands of Bawds, which (*a*) is yet extant. He made also another mentioned by (*b*) St. *Hierome* and *Sozomenus*, though not extant in the (*c*) Code, whereby he put down the filthy Stews in the Fornices where amongst Whores, Boys also stood and were publickly exposed as Merchandise for Lust: As also another mentioned by (*d*) *Lampridius*, hath perished which forbad Eunuchs (the plague of Princes of those times) to bear any Offices of Majestracy, he also thought a thing sutable to Christian moderation (that we may mention a thing not altogether so proper to this Subject) to mitigate the Severity of punishment formerly due to Malefactors, Repealing by an Edict of this same Year, that (*e*) Law and Custom whereby such as were condemned to the Gladiator's School, and the Mines were to be branded in the Face, ordering the Cause of their Condemnation

Prohibits Christians to be sold for prostitution.

(*a*) *c. th. de lenon. Lib.* 1.
(*b*) 2. *in Esaiam.*
(*c*) *Lib.* 1. *cap* 8.
(*d*) *in. Alex.*
(*e*) *L.* 2. *cod. th. de pœnit.*

should be marked either in their Hands or Legs, least as he saith the Face which is formed according to Celestial Beauty, should be disfigured, which Custom by him thus brought in, is still observed amongst us, except in cases of some Hainous offence deserving a publick Character of Infamy; although the (*f*) *Thracians* accounted it (such is the diversity of thoughts and manners) a note of Nobility to have their Hands Marked (whence came the Proverb *Thraciæ notæ*) as also the *Sarmacians* and *Dacians*, according to (*g*) *Pliny*, and the *Tentans* as (*h*) *Tertullian* writeth. The *Syrians* (*i*) were wont also to be Stigmatized in their Hands or Necks.

(*f*) *Cælius Rhodig. Antis. lect. l. 7 cap.* 31.
(*g*) *Lib.* 22. *cap.* 1.
(*h*) *de virg. veland.*
(*i*) *Lucian in nova Syria.*

Restrains the Insolence of the *Jews*.

8. This Year also (that we may return to our proper Subject) *Constantine* by an (*a*) Edict, restrained the Sawcy impudence of the *Jews*, who were wont when any of their Sect turned Christian, to throw Stones at him and abuse him, with other sorts of Violence. Such as should do the like for the time to come, he commands to be Burnt whith all their Abettors; and subjects all Christians to the same punishment that shall turn to their Religion. About this time it appeareth from *Chrysostom*, that the *Jews* Rebelled though in what Year is not expressed, for which crime *Constantine* Caused their Ears to be cut off, and led up and down in all places, as Fugitive Slaves that their Brethren might be advised how to carry themselves towards Christians; but afterward they were quiet, and living in Dutiful Obedience, had the same favour as other Subjects, which his Rescripts made in their behalf sufficiently declare.

(*a*) *C. Th. l.* 1. *de Judæis.*

9. Such was the Progress *Constantine* made in the Reformation of Religion, whilst as yet he Governed the Empire in Conjunction with *Licinius*, which at first seeming to joyn with him, afterwards turned Persecutor in those Dominions that were subject to him. He being overthrown, taken Prisoner, and put to Death, he proceeded with greater Vigour, having by several Edicts recalled Christianity, Banished as it were out of those Parts; Established the Church almost utterly Overturned and Desolate, restored such as had either been forced or Fled for safety from their own Countrys, Released them that were Condemned either to Prison, or the Mines, restored such to Liberty as had been made Slaves upon the account of Conscience; restored all to their Estates and Dignities, and provided for the Heirs of Martyrs that they should Succeed them according to Law and Conscience; and if they had no Kindred, then their Estates should fall to the Church, provided that whatsoever they gave in their Life-time should stand Firm. All those things were included in an Edict, which presently he put in Execution, disanulling whatsoever the Tyrants had done, so that restitution was made to the right Owners according to Law and the Tenour of the said Edict.

Consule Euseb. in vita Constantini cap. 19. *usq; ad.* 42.

He prefers Christians to places of Honour and prohibits Idolatry.

10. Now the Bishops were restored to their Sees, and Idolatry was more opposed then ever. *Constantine* (*a*) proceeding to other matters of great Moment, conferring many Dignities on Christians, and making them Governours of divers Provinces, but such as were devoted to Heathenism he prohibited to sacrifice to Idols: For he made a new Law, that if they were Christians all Governours of Provinces should behave themselves as became that glorious Title; but if they were otherwise affected, he commanded that they should not Sacrifice to Idols. Not long after he published an Edict (*b*) against *Aruspices* or South-sayers, who privately in other Mens Houses followed their Trade: And about the same time he freed (*c*) all Clergy-men from Offices, except such who for to shun all civil Imployments, had upon design betaken themselves to that Function. But when many abused this Priviledge and Immunity granted to the Clergy, the Emperour (*d*) commanded afterward that such only should Succeed them that Dyed as were poor and not liable to publick Imployments.

(*a*) *idem ibid. cap.* 43.
(*b*) *l.* 1. *&* 2. *c. Th. de malef.*
(*c*) *c. Th. l.* 2. *de Episc. & cler. l.* 16. *tit.* 2. §. 3.
(*d*) *c. Th. l.* 16. *tit.* 2. §. 3.

He makes an Edict concerning the observation of the Lords day.

11. The Year following being the 16 of his Reign, the 13 of his Conversion, *Claudius Cæsar* the second time and *Constantinus Cæsar* also the second time being Consuls, he published an Edict for the observation of the Lords Day (*a*) forbiding all Artificers to work in Cities, but permitting the Exercise of Agriculture (*b*) as also Manumissions and Mancipations to be made on that day.

(*a*) *c. Just. l.* 3. *tit.* 3. §. 12.
(*b*) *c. Th. l.* 2. *tit.* 8. §. 1.

Eusebius in the History (*c*) of his Life (a Treatise written in an Encomiastick way without Method or order) tells us how he ordained that the Lords Day should be Consecrated unto Prayer, being the chief and first Day of the Week, chose Grave Religious Men to be Deacons and Chaplains in his Court, and had a strong Guard about his Person, who as they were faithful to their Prince, so by his example learnt to be Religious towards God, and to observe the Lords Day, by devoting it to Prayer. And this Gracious Prince, saith he persuaded others to this pious Duty; still praying that by degrees he might bring all Men to the knowledge

(*c*) *Lib.* 4. *cap.* 18, 19. &c

ledge of God : Wherefore he Commanded that throughout the *Roman* Empire, they ſhould forbear toLabour on the Lords Day,and that they ſhould have a reſpect to the days immediately preceeding the Sabbath, in regard of our Saviours memorable Actions performed on thoſe days ; here is the Sixt *Feria* or that we call *Fryday*,eſpecially meant as *Sozomenus* (*d*)telleth,is becauſe on that day Chriſt was Crucyfied. But whereas *Conſtantine* in his Edict calls it not the Lords Day after the Eccleſiaſtcal manner, but *Dies Solis* or Sunday, thence ſome (*e*) collect that this Law was impoſed as well upon *Gentiles* as others.

(*d*) *Lib.* 1. *cap.* 8.

(*e*) *Baronius ad A. D.* 321.

12.(*a*)*Euſebius* indeed tells us that he inſtructed his whole Army to reverence and obſerve this Holyand Happy day,which was called Sunday,giving Liberty to thoſe by a Divine inſtinct, who had imbraced the Faith, that they might freely frequent the Church of God ; and there without any Moleſtation offer up their Prayers unto him. But others that had not yet taſted the ſweetneſs of Divine Knowledge,he commanded that on the Lords day they ſhould go into the Fields, belonging to the Suburbs of the City where they ſhould meet, and joyn together in Prayer to God : For he ſaid that they ought not only to uſe their Spears, or put their confidence in Weapons or ſtrength of Body, but to acknowledge God to be the giver, and as of all other things, ſo of Victory ; to whom with Hearts and Hands lifted up to Heaven, we ought to render due Praiſe and Prayer, to beſeech him who is the giver of Victories, to Keep, Protect and Defend us. He preſcribed alſo to his Souldiers a certain Form of Prayer in Latin, which he commanded them to uſe after this manner. (*b*) *We acknowledge thee the only God, we confeſs thee to be our King ; we invoke thee as our helper ; by thee we have obtained Victories, by thee we have overcome our Enemies , from thee we enjoy our preſent Happyneſs , And hope we ſhall obtain one that is to come, we all become thy Suppliants,beſeeching thee to preſerve long our Emperour* Conſtantine *ſafe and Victorious, with his hopeful Progeny.* This Form of Prayer he commanded his Souldiers to uſe on Sundays, and in their daily Devotions ; (*c*) cauſing alſo the Sign of the Croſs to be Ingraven upon their Armour , and to be carried before the Army, which it was to follow, and not any Golden Standard as formerly. And he not only ſent this Edict for obſervation of the Lords Day to all Governours of Provinces, but alſo for (*d*) keeping ſuch Holydays as were Conſecrated to the Memory of the Martyrs ; and for the ſolemn obſervation of the Feaſts of the Church, all which was performed according to the Emperours Commands.

(*a*) *Lib.* 4. *vitæ Conſt. cap.* 19.

(*b*) *Idem. ibid. cap.* 20.

Preſcribes a prayer to be uſed by his Souldiers.

(*c*) *Idem. ibid. cap.* 21.

(*d*) *Idem. ibid. cap.* 23.

13. This Year he alſo publiſhed a (*a*) Conſtitution againſt Witches , Inchanters, and ſuch as by Invocation of Devils, raiſed Tempeſts or diſturbed the Brains of Men. By (*b*) another he gave Liberty to any one to leave by his Will to the Church whatſoever he pleaſed, whereby the Riches of the Clergy ſo vaſtly increaſed with time to the great detriment of the Civil State , that Succeeding Princes , were forced to make Laws of Mortmain, for reſtraining of ſuch Liberality as we ſhall ſee hereafter, by an Edict (*c*) alſo he preſſed the Re-edifying of Churches. But he ſeemeth in the latter end of this Year, to have pulled down ſome of the Buildings he had raiſed, by another Conſtitution (*d*) or Reſcript to *Maximus* Præfect of the City, whereby then reſiding at *Sardica* , he commanded the *Aruſpices* or *Soothſayers* to be Conſulted about ſome Prodigies that had lately happened, and permitted this to be done publickly by all others, a Fact unworthy of a Chriſtian Emperour, eſpecially ſo Zealous as he ſeemed to be, for it's one thing to Connive at a fault, which there is not ſufficient power and opportunity to puniſh, and another to reſtore an unlawful Cuſtom formerly prohibited, and to Eſtabliſh Iniquity by a Law. Hence *Zozimus* might be ſo bold as to aſſert that *Conſtantine* till this time although againſt his will, to pleaſe the Senate followed the Pagan Superſtition.

(*a*) *l.* 4. *c. de malef.*

(*b*) *c. Th. l.* 4. *de Epiſc. & cler. & l.* 16. *tit.* 2. §. 4.

(*c*) *c. Th. l.* 15. *tit.* 1. § 2.

(*d*) *c, th. l.* 1. *de Pagan.*

Enacts a Law againſt Witches *&c.* and is farther kind to the Church.

By another he commands the *Aruſpices* to be conſulted.

14. That this his Aſſertion is falſe, the former Laws ſufficiently declare, and not only our own Hiſtorians. Yet hence take occaſion to obſerve that *Conſtantine* by reaſon of difficulty and importance of the thing, was Conſtrained to Act with great care and Circumſpection, both towards the Senate as yet *Pagan* for the moſt part, and the People, and ſo to have obſerved his own Religion as in ſo ticklish a time, not to undo all by once doing,but inſinuating things by degrees, as the publick Affairs and Exigence of times would Comfort, to have conſtrained none to his own (though beſt) way, and proceeded but ſlowly and warily in overthrowing Idolatry, as we ſhall farther ſee hereafter, however ſome Writers out of their own Zeal magnifie what they themſelves deſired, meaſuring his Commendation by the Standard of their own inclinations, whilſt they looked more at what ſhould , then what could be, and being better Church-men and

Politi-

Politicians (even in a Christian Sence) by their Panegyrical Flourishes, extoll that for zeal, which had it been practiced might through the unseasonable application, proved the overthrow of that they most desired should be established.

15. By their præcipitancy and imprudence (as in such Cases Princes never want those about them of such Temper, and would be at their Journeys end e're they can well set out) might the Emperour be brought to do what he might be tempted afterwards to recall, and thereby both Sin in Establishing that by a Law, which it might have been no Sin to permit with sorrow, when he could not hinder it: As also discourage Professors, and cast a great blemish upon Religion; or else not only venture the overthrow of Religion, and reducing it to its former afflicted Condition, but endanger his Crown and Dignity by Seditions. For the occasion of this Rescript, appeareth to have been a great suspicion the *Pagans* had, that by degrees he would Eradicate their Superstition; because about a Year a go he had the second time written against *Aruspices*, which exercised their Art in private Houses. Leaving them to be accordingly Alarmed, hereby it is probable that by an Insurrection or some dangerous attempt, he recalled what he had formerly done, and established the thing he prohibited. For as (x) one observeth, seeing that in this Rescript he declareth that all have Liberty to follow that way of Divination, so they abstain from private Superstition and Domestick Sacrifices; he plainly signifieth that by some other Edict he had prohibited the publick Exercise of *Aruspicina*, which it seems had wonderfully incensed the *Pagans* and excited them to Seditious Attempts, the *Aruspicina* being of vast Esteem and Authority at *Rome*, as it is evident from the Law of the 12 Tables which (x) *Cicero* reciteth and explaineth. But some pretend to observe that after this ungodly Edict, whereas *Constantine* formerly had all things according to his hearts desire, so that none ever were more happy and prosperous in Government, now began to feel Gods indignation, such a Domestick Fewd arising (as *David* formerly had been punished) that he polluted his hands with the Blood of his dearest Relations, and was in danger of utter Ruin, had he not expiated the Offence committed against Christian Religion, by a certain Remedy.

The occasion thereof.

(x) *Baronius ad, A.D.* 322.

(x) *de legibus, lib.* 2.

Which tending much to the prejudice of the Church.

16. For, whereas by the forementioned Rescript, he had ordered the *Soothsayers* to be Consulted, the *Gentiles* taking heart hereat, were so puffed up that hoping the Emperour had returned to their Superstition, they endeavoured to force the Christians to a partaking of their Mysteries: Whereupon *Constantine* published this Constitution following.

The Emperour *Constantine Augustus* to *Helpidius*.

By another Law he forbids Christians to be forced to partake thereof.

Whereas we have found that certain Ecclesiasticks, and the rest that obey the Catholick Party, are compelled to the Sacrifices of the Lustra, by Men of several Religions; We Ordain by this Constitution, that if any one go about to Compell those who are Subjects to the most Holy Law, to any Rite of a strange Superstition, if his State and Condition bear it, he shall be beaten with Rods publickly; but if the Condition of his Degree or Honour do withstand this as an Injury, let him be Fined to publick use, as much as possibly he may. Given at Sirmium. *on the* 8. *of the Calends of* June, Severus *and* Rufinus *being Consuls, that is,* A. D. 323.

17. From this Constitution we shall first observe, that the *Gentiles* had their Sacrifices and Heathenish Rites, either Entire or for the most part preserved as such to this time, and that publickly Celebrated, especially in *Rome* and *Italy*; which were most Tenacious of *Pagan* Superstition throughout the *West*, as appareth also by other (a) Constitutions of *Constantine*. For *Helpidius* to whom the Constitution is directed, for the prevention and punishment of the Injury, was then Vicar of the City or *Italy*, being two Years before called the (b) vicegerent of the *Prfectus Prætorio*, and in (c) another directed to him, mention is made of the Port of the City of *Rome*, and (c) another Law which hath the same Inscription, is propounded to the *Carali* a City of *Sardinia*. But by those Sacrifices of the *Lustra* (*Lustrorum Sacrificia*) are not to be meant the Lustrations of private and common Solemnities, properly so called and Celebrated on certain days proper thereunto, neither such as Fathers of Families made in their Corn Fields, that these Calamities, *Mors labes nubula impetigo pesestas* (or Pestilence) which were most proper Terms as (d) *Festus* witnesseth to these sorts of Solemnities; might be prevented, as in an old Rustick (e) Calender it's found Written, in the

The several kinds of the *Lustra*

(a) *Tit. de maleficis & Mathematicis Paganis, Sacrificiis & Templis.*

(b) *C. Justin, l.* 6. *de ædificiis privatis.*

(c) *& C. Th. l.* 4. *de navicularis.*

(c) *C. Th. l.* 1. *de feriis.*

(d) *in voce Pesestas.*

(e) *vide Jacob. Gothofred. de interdict. christianorum cum Gentilibus communicatione.*

the Month of *May*, *Segetes Lustrantur*, and in that of *April*, *Oves Lustrantur*. Neither are in this place, to be understood the *Lustra*, which were wont to be Celebrated at *Rome* by the *Censors*, after the *Census* of Citizens was made by a Sacrifice of the *Suonetaurilia*; for they had ceased long ago, as appeareth by what *Censorinus* writeth in his Book *de Die Natali*; at which time the Office of *Censors* also Ceased, which some endeavoured, though in vain, to re-establish.

18. By the Sacrifices of *Lustra*, here are meant Publick and Solemn Lustrations, which were Celebrated about the *Pomærium* of the City and the Fields, in a Procession called *Amburbia* and *Amburvalis*: The Beasts to be Sacrificed, being led about with certain Verses uttered in a Set and Solemn Feast-day; these were Solemnized upon several Occasions, as for the Fruitfulness of the Earth, and Plenty of Grain; upon inspection of the Sybiline Books, and a *Lectisternium* made for the procurement of the Peace of the Gods, as it was termed, or upon Threats of great Dangers, for Defence of the Country against Foreign Enemies; in which Solemnities there was a Lustration by intervention of a Torch, Sulphur, and Water, and Water was sprinkled according to *Tertullian*; of this sort Anciently were the *Armilustra*, whereby the Army in the *Campus Martius* was Lustrated by Sacrifice, as were *Navies*, *Temples*, *Altars*, and Pipes called *Tubæ*, whence came the word called *Tubilustria*, concerning which the Testimonies of the Antients are very obvious.

19. That this Constitution not only respecteth such *Lustra* as were made against the Plague, or for benefit of the Villages; but also for Victory against an Enemy, the Characterism of the Date of it seemeth sufficiently to Witness. For this same Year, and the Consulship of *Severus* and *Rufinus*, the *Goths* made an Incursion into the Empire, and wasted *Thrace* and *Mæsia*, whom *Constantine* Repulsed, and thence were Celebrated the Gothick Sports, whereof *Porphyry* in his Panegyrick, Ancient Coins, and other things written concerning those Times bear mention, as the Calender called *Calendarium Hemazianum*, the Author of *Constantine*'s Life, and an Anonymous of *Sirmundus* or *Valesius*. Now the *Pagans* thought they could more easily force Christians to those Solemnities, because they were Celebrated without the more Superstitious Rites and Ceremonies; as perhaps without mutations of the *Victimæ*, and Circumductions already abolished, neither Sacrifices of the *Hostiæ* (for it is requisite to express those things in their proper Latin Terms) so that it seemed not so clear, but that Christians, without wounding their Consciences, might be present at them: And the publick Profit was pretended, as the welfare of the Prince and Empire; in which case to them, as *Apuleius* saith in his first Apology, nothing seemed Criminous.

The Gothick sports are celebrated by the *Pagans*.

Nihil quod ferendum salutis gratia fit criminosum.

20. And indeed *Constantine* himself in another business, seemed to Subscribe to their Opinion, before the making of this Law; by giving way to those Spells and Inchantments which were used for the Health of his Subjects, lest Divine Favours or the Labours of Men should be abolished. Which Constitution *Justinian* is justly wondred at for putting into his Code, and *Leo Philosophus* abolished out of as just Indignation. Although that *Constantine* afterwards receded from it: The Learned *Gothifred* doth not doubt, seeing he Abrogated the use of the *Aruspicina*, which he had formerly Tolerated as we have seen, under pretence therefore of publick Safety, especially the *Gentiles* believed that Christians were to be Compelled to the Sacrifices of the *Lustra*, Old Customs and Rites used by Ancestors Time out of mind, carrying ever a great shew of Reason, if meant out of Devotion to Prince and Commonwealth; which pretence *Theodosius Junior* Condemneth by a Constitution, concerning the observation of the Lords-day, as we shall see in due time and place. So that the *Pagans* objected to Christians Impiety and Irreverence towards their Prince and Country, who on the other side refused to joyn in this Solemnity, or be defiled by Idolatry; rejecting Communion in all such Cases, however such things were covered by a specious Pretence of the Publick Safety; whence the Calumny of *Zozimus* appeareth manifest, who writes that *Innocent* Bishop of *Rome*, in the Time of *Honorius* amongst such Fears and Dangers as were then great, because of the *Gothick* War, concented to certain *Pagan* Rites for defence of the Empire, *preferring the Publick Safety*, saith he, *before his own opinion*. And like to this is his other slander of *Constantine* himself, who he saith till this time gave Credit to the *Aruspices* though a Christian. But by those Slanders of *Zozimus* we may learn that the true and proper Judgment of Christians, was to abstain from Communion with *Gentiles*.

And in some sort countenanced by the Emperour.

C. Th. l. 3. de. maleficis & Matth.

Novella. 65.

C. Th. de. Spectaculis in l. dominico ult.

Lib 5. p. 816.

21. But

Who they were that were protected by the forementioned Law.

21. But it's made a question who they were that the *Gentiles* would compel to those Solemnities, and consequently whom the Emperour protects from their violence by this Law. He nameth *certain Ecclesiasticks and the rest that Serve the Catholick Sect*, then afterward *such as Obey the most Holy Law*, by whom it's questioned, whether the Clergy alone, or all Christians promiscuously be meant. But who can believe that Ecclesiastical Persons are barely meant, or that they only rejected Communication in those Sacrifices, and not also the rest of the Christians? The general Inhibition of the Law sufficiently declares it, which takes care that no such be compelled to the Rite of a strange Superstition, who serve the most Holy Law, wherefore the Phrases *Catholicæ Sectæ servientes*, and *Sanctissimæ legi Servientes*, are such as Imbraced the Christian Faith and lived accordingly, not such only as Ministred in Sacred Offices. But *Constantine* by a great Penalty prohibits this Disorder, *viz.* by beating them with Clubs, if of vile condition, or imposing on them an heavy Fine, if Noble, which should Issue to the Publick not to the *Exchequer*, but the publick *Treasury* of the Cities concerned, as this same Emperour allotted another Fine two Years after; and then the Cities, of *Italy* must here be meant, wherein *Helpidius* was *Præfectus prætorio*, to whom the Law is Inscribed.

C. Th. di. in. l. null. 2. e. judiciis 1.

A Canon prohibiting Sacrifices to Idols, concuring with the Emperous Edict.

22. Hereby may both the Mind of *Constantine* and the Discipline of that Age be fully discovered; there being Canons also made at *Ancyra*, by a Council held there Ten Years before, to this same purpose, whereby not only Sacrificing 'to Idols but also eating in their Temples and Feasting with *Pagans* is forbidden, 'the Ninth Canon being made against such as Constrained their Brethren to do it, or gave cause of that Compulsion; not to speak of those pretended to be made at *Eliberis*, of the Credit of which many justly doubt. *Julian* the Emperor afterwards knowing the Carefulness and Shiness of Christians in this respect, laid what Gins and Snares he possibly could for them, exposing the Faces of Princes (afterward called *Labratæ*) amongst the Images of their Gods for the People to Worship; and putting them upon offering Incense which he knew was all one with denying Christ.

The taking of *Pagan* Offices objected to Christians.

23. As for that which some object concerning several Offices born by Christians, and mixed with Idolatry, whereby they would make it appear that all Communion with the *Gentiles* was neither forbidden nor shunned, it's apparent that the Offices of *Centenarii* and *Dendrophori*, were never born by Christians, but at length abolished as Fragments of *Pagan* Superstition, and the other of *Synarchæ* and *Asiarchæ* were not at all contaminated by any Superstition belonging to the care and oversight of Game and publick Mirth, which though at first might have been Instituted upon Superstitious Grounds, yet now was only improved to innocent Recreation, whereof this Age was very cautious, especially *Antioch* the Metropolis of *Syria*, where the *Synarchæ* resided, and the Games called *Synarchia* were exhibited.

Vide Jacobum Gothofredum de interdicia Christianorum cum Gentilibus communione.

And that *Constantine* and his Successors were stiled *Pontifex Maximus*.

24. But the main objected in this Argument, and that which requires a serious scrutiny in this matter of Reformation is, that *Constantine* as also his Successors *Valentinian*, *Valens* and *Gratian* for some time bore the Title of *Pontifex Maximus*, and therefore neither esteemed a *Pagan* Name, nor imployment unfitting for him. For this Accusation *Zozimus* is brought as a Witness, who Writes (*a*) so much in express words, with whom accords (*b*) *Baronius* in his Annals, though formerly in his Notes on the *Roman* Martirology, he gave him the lye as to this particular. And more reason he had so to do, then at length thus to pass over to his Party, that Historian having neither any probable Author or Ground for his Assertion, he himself confessing that he had not this Fable from any Creditable Person, but taken it upon hear-say and common Discourse, then which nothing is more vain and uncertain. Then what a worthy Author *Zozimus* is, how much to be Credited in such Cases we may see, both by his inveterate hatred to Christianity, moved wherewith he wrought his Book, which is stuffed with such Fables and Calumnies against Christian Emperours, and others of that Religion, especially *Constantine* and *Gratian*, because he began the Reformation, and this Emperour more effectually inforced it by stopping the allowance formerly given to Superstitious Ceremonies, the Stipends allowed to Priests, destroying the Altar of *Victory*, and other Portentous Images, as St. *Ambross*, St. *Hierome* and *Symmachus* do Testifie.

(*a*) *Lib.* 4. *p.* 760. 761.
(*b*) *ad*, *A.D.* 321.

25. Yet could it be granted that *Zozimus* was not at all guilty of Spleen and Malice, how can he be Credited who so palpably Erred in a matter of greatest Concernment? Concerning *Gracian*, Writing that for fear of *Maximus* the Tyrant

Both which are sufficiently confuted.

rant; having passed the *Alps*, *Rhetia*, *Novicum*, *Pannonia* into the upper *Mysia*, he was slain at *Singidunum*, whereas other Historians unanimously agree that being worsted near *Paris*, he fled and was Slain about *Lyons*. Farther if we Consult other Writers, a deep silence there is, not one word of this Story of the Pontificate which *Zozimus* tells us, but in a matter of such Moment, who can imagine they should say nothing? Would *Pagan* Writers, especially the Panegyrists, whereof those Times were Fruitful, have omitted this Title so great, so plausible, when they Extol Christian Emperours to the Skies, and pass not over things of slight consequence? On the other side would the Fathers and Ecclesiastical VWriters have omitted to reprehend them for so scandalous an Office and Title, who are not wont to dissemble lesser Faults of Princes? Or who can think that by *Hereticks*, or one or another, this would not have been laid to their Charge?

From the Constitutions and Coyns of those Christian Princes.

26. Then if we look on the Constitutions of those Christian Princes, their Coyns and Medals, as also such Inscriptions as are not Falsified, there's nothing in them that gives the least pretence to this Assertion, although by them, especially the Titles of Emperours be largely set out. If we consider their minds and Inclinations, we shall find that by various Constitutions, they endeavoured to Eradicate *Paganism* out of the minds of their Subjects, as the Times and necessity of Affairs would permit, forbiding to all Christians Communion with the *Gentiles*, in their Superstitious Rites; how then could they themselves practice what they disapproved in others? and by ill examples Enervate their own Laws? Ecclesiastical VWriters as (a) *Theodoret* and (b) *Sozomenus* note it in *Julian* as a new thing, that he called himself *Pontifex Maximus*, as he also stiles himself in a (c) Fragment yet extant, not to mention Inscriptions where this Title is found. These things seem sufficiently to Convict *Zozimus* of Calumny and Falshood, as to his Assertion that those Christian Princes assumed this Title. As for what he adds that *Gratian* rejected it, who can believe that so memorable a thing would have been utterly forgot, or never mentioned by Christian VWriters, who are ready enough to give Commendations where due, as mightily extoll the Piety and Christian Zeal of *Gratian*, especially St. *Ambrose* and *Ausonius*; then the distance of place makes against this Assertion. For if the Pontifical Habit was observed to *Gratian*, by the inferiour Pontifices, and presently rejected by him, then must this have been done at *Rome*, where they resided and where we do not Read that *Gratian* ever came.

(a) *Lib.* 3. *cap.* (b) *Lib.* 5. *cap.* (c) *pag.* 546.

27. Notwithstanding some there are who go about to gain Credit to *Zozimus* his Story, being willing to believe that *Gratian* first rejected this Title, and for this reason you must know, because the Bishops of *Rome* then began to Challenge it as their due, *Baronius* a main Stickler for it in his Annals, though of another mind in his Notes upon the Martyrology, brings his first Testimony out of *Ausonius*, whence he will make in his return of thanks to call *Gratian*, *Pontifex Maximus*. But this saith *Gothofred*, is said *gratis*. For in two Places (a) indeed *Ausonius* equalleth *Gratian* with a *Pontifex Maximus*, but for his Religion and Chastity as he plainly expresseth it. And in a (b) third he calleth him *Pontifex Maximus*, but by a certain allusion in respect of the Old *Pontifical Comitia*, to which *Gratian* by Letters seemed to allude. The Second Testimony he fetcheth from Ancient Inscriptions; wherein besides other Titles of Emperours, this of *Pontifex Maximus* is found, and he instanceth in several, to be met with in the Collection of Inscriptions, by *Graterus*. Great heed is indeed to be given to ancient Inscriptions; but we must also consider that in them these Emperours assume not that Title to themselves, but it's given them by others, *viz.* The Superstitious *Romans and Italians*, as *Pagans* in this Age; Sacrificers who made Inspections into the Entrails of Beasts; for Christian Emperors who certainly approved no such things) as we have hinted formerly from (c) *Ammianus*. And we must further know that some of those Inscriptions, had been formerly made for *Pagan* Emperours, whose Names being Erased, afterward those of Christian Emperours were Ingraven in their places.

(a) *cap.* 10. *vol.* 20 & *ca.* 18. *seu* 28. (b) *cap.* 12 *seu.* 18. (c) *Lib.* 2.

28. This is evident from an (a) Inscription belonging to *Constantine*, and taken notice of by (b) *Baronius* himself, wherein in a Marble at *Rome* is read, *Magno & Invicto Imp. Cæs. C. val. Aurelio Constantino Pio, Fel. Invicto, Aug. Pontif. Max. Trib. Potest. Cos. III. PP. Proc. D. N. Corpus Coriariorum &c.* That this Inscription first belonged to some *Pagan* Prince, is evident because in the left side of the same Basis are also read *Dedicata Kal. Jan. DD. NN. Diocletiano III. & Maximiniano Coss.* For this Consulship was before the time of *Constantine* as is most clear to all, and his Name afterwards inserted; for there are *C. Val. Aurel.* VWhich

(a) *fol.* 283. (b) *ad* *A. D.* 312.

Prænomina never belonged to him, his *Prænomen* being *Flavius*, but are proper to *Maximianus*, not *Diocleſian* as *Baronius* imagined. This change of Names is alſo found in Money which was ſtamped anew with the Name of another Prince, and was uſed alſo in Statues and Images, which were made to ſerve for the Honour of another Perſon, their Heads or Titles being changed, as *Gothofred* obſerves, and is clear from many Witneſſes.

29. So weak are the Teſtimonies brought by *Baronius* and *Morinus*, (*a*) who follows him herein; of no greater ſtrength are their Arguments. They believe that Chriſtian Princes reſerved this Title, and might lawfully do it, without any Spot ſticking on them from the Ceremonies, for the amplitude of Power therein contained; not out of love to Superſtition, but for preſervation of their Authority; without the Crime of Idolatry; not to perform any Ceremonies, but for the maintenance of their Prerogative. They urge, that without this Title, the Emperours ſhould have been as no body, for that the Senate and People of *Rome*, would have preſently Conſpired againſt him, as one who was not a Follower of the Religion of their Anceſtors and Country. That the Authority of this *Pontifex*, was moſt ample above the Conſuls, and therefore ſeemed neceſſary to the Emperours, that thereby they might, as by the chieſeſt Point of Religion, curb and reſtrain the Senate, which was often refractory towards Princes: and it ſeemed more neceſſary to them, as Chriſtians, who might well perceive they reigned againſt the mind of the Senate; and by their Religion, raiſed the Envy and Malice of the *Gentiles* againſt them.

(a) *In Eccleſia liberata.*

30. But to Divines this we leave to be diſcuſſed, whether it were an innocent Myſtery of State only, or a Crime; and whether Chriſtian Princes could, with a ſafe Conſcience, and without Idolatry or Superſtition, envy the Title and Office of *Pontifex Maximus*. Concerning the neceſſity and utility of this Sophiſm, it is not amiſs to ſay ſomething. It is true that the old *Pagan* Emperours aſſumed this Title, as a ſtrengthening of their Powers, ſo that they themſelves, ſometimes, performed the Ceremonies, and indeed exerciſed the Function of a *Pontifex*, as (*a*) *Domitian*, (*b*) *Adrian*, and (*c*) *Alexander Severus*. Yet for the imbracing of this Title, which could not poſſibly be ſeparated from a mixture of *Pagan* Superſtition, there was no neceſſity for Chriſtian Princes, as if otherwiſe they could not be ſecure; ſeeing that then at *Rome* their Party became daily ſtrangers, and *Pagan* Superſtition daily decreaſed, which by the omiſſion of ſuch a thing, could not gather much advantage, the *Pagan* Superſtition being reſtrained, and the Imperial Power confirmed, ſo that the Senate and People from *Conſtantine*, looked on them as Protectors of the City, and Authors of Peace and Quietneſs, receiving them gladly, and celebrating their Praiſes with all ſorts of Pomp and Commendations; being permitted to enjoy ſome of their Follies, leſt too great ſtrictneſs and ſeverity ſhould raiſe ſuch a Tempeſt, as could not eaſily be diſpelled, though by degrees a Reformation might be tolerated.

(a) *Plin. l. 4. ep.* 11.
(b) *Spartianus*, p. 11.
(c) *Lampridius*, p. 118.

31. As for *Conſtantine*, could he take the name of *Pontifex*, a *Pagan* Title; (who (as the Author of his Life falſely heretofore thought to be *Euſebius*, witneſſeth) profeſſed himſelf Biſhop, τῶν ἔξω, or thoſe that are without) certainly it ſmally agreed with thoſe Conſtitutions that were made againſt the Sacrifice of the *Luſtra*, and his neglecting the Secular Games. *Baronius* addeth that the Chriſtian Biſhops granted theſe Emperours Power to aſſume that Title, but whereby doth this appear? Becauſe they do not blame them upon this account, as for ſeveral other things; but it may juſtly be Argued on the contrary, that this was never done by Chriſtian Emperours, becauſe we do not find them, upon this account, Chidden by the Fathers, who are not wanting to reprehend them for leſſer Faults. For that which *Baronius* urgeth as his greateſt force, that Chriſtian Emperours did not, as *Pagans*, aſſume the Robe and Title of *Pontifex Maximus*, being not initiated as others were, by drinking Bulls Blood, and otherwiſe, nor by Sacrificing to *Jupiter Olympius*, or other gods, (which had been an open Apoſtacy from Chriſtian Religion, and not to be covered or diſſembled by any pretext) but only as *Zozimus* ſaith, that receiving the Robe, he uſed alſo the Title. But *Zozimus* his meaning is, not only the Habit and Title was aſſumed, but he mentions the Habit, as the Enſign of the Pontificate, as Princes by receiving the Purple, took on them alſo Imperial Power.

32. However, we mean not here the moſt hainous Crime of Apoſtacy (although *Baronius* objects that alſo to *Conſtantine* very ſtrangely) nor inquire into the moſt wicked act of Superſtition that could be thought; from which

Baronius

Baronius would endeavour to clear the assuming of this Title. But Superstition he must be guilty of, had he assumed it; neither can one be accounted free from Idolatry, that is not guilty of the highest Crime of that nature, that doth not Sacrifice himself, or incourage that abominable Rite by his Authority. Although a Prince used only the Habit and Title in *Baronius* his Sense, yet consider seriously what this Habit was; a Pontifical and Priestly Stole, ἱερατικὴ στολή, as *Zozimus* calls it, a *Sacred Vestment*, *Sacerdotal and Pagan Ornament*; a painted Robe, not with any History out of the Gospel; doubtless as *Asterius* writes, the Clothes of Rich Men in *Cappadocia*, in his time, were wont to be neither wrought with the Images of Emperours as that *Trabea* or *Palmata* was, which *Gratian* sent to *Ausonius*, when he had designed him Consul; but were wrought and painted after the *Pagan* Fashion, such as was Mystical, and such as the *Pontifex Maximus* received from the hand of inferiour *Pagan Pontifices*, as *Zozimus* witnesseth, which for a Christian to put on, was counted wickedness by *Gratian*, as that *Pagan* Author relates.

33. What account is to be made of *Zozimus* his Story, and the defence of *Baronius*, we may perceive by those things, both who make this Title to have ceased in *Gratian*. But there are some that proceed farther, and will have the Title of *Pontifex Maximus* used by Princes after his time, which they would prove from an Edict of *Valentinian* and *Marcian*, inserted into the third Action of the Council of *Chalcedon*, wherein these Emperours are called *Pontifices Inclyti*; so the Edition (*a*) of *Colain*, and such as have been printed from it: But that this is false, appears from the (*b*) *Greek* Copies, wherein no such matter appears, but those Princes are only stiled αἰώνιοι Αὐγουστοι. That it was added by some foolish Writer or Printer it is clear, from other Demonstrations of his Folly; as there it is said that *Marcian* had repeated the Tribunitial Power seven and twenty times, whereas he Reigned but six Years and six Months; and the Tribunitial Power being a Consequent of the Imperial, now had been left off, and not mentioned. And there we find *Consul Semel*, a Form of Speech that was never used.

(*a*) P. 826.
(*b*) P. 442.

34. From all that has been said, it appears that *Constantine*, though the Year foregoing he had permitted the use of *Aruspicina* to the *Pagans*, yet neither allowed Communion with them in himself nor other Christians, but disapproved of whatsoever carried Superstition or Paganism with it in shew or Title. As for such things as had been Instituted by the *Gentiles*, yet in their name had no appearance of Superstition they continued, as certain Temples cleansed of all Superstition afterwards when Paganism by degrees was banished, were suffered to continue for Ornament to the places where they stood. Naked and simple Names and Appellations of Things, Times, Temples and Places, were still used by Christians without any harm, or any Fellowship in Heathenish Rites, being established by common Conversation and Use (the Law and Rule of Speech.) The Holy Ghost hath not disdained to apply unto Sacred Purposes words of Art as it were, used by *Pagan* Writers, as *Paradisus*, *Hades*, *Apostolus*, *Clerus*. The false Divinities of the *Gentiles* they still called *Dii* or Gods. So the first day of the Week they still called (*a*) *Sunday*, although sometimes adding something whereby it might appear that they could like better the Christian name, as *Theodosius* the younger chose rather to call it absolutely the (*b*) *Lords-day*. So the *Panthæon* was still so called, and the *Atrium* of *Minerva*, where also Christian Princes exposed to view their Constitutions, because of the concourse of People thither made; all which things (*c*) *Tertullian* long before, when the Emperours were *Pagan*, although severe in his Censures, would not condemn, so that there were Approbation not Participation in the thing.

Several *Pagan* Names and Places kept up, but their Superstition abolished.

(a) C. Th. de feriis l. 1. 2. & l. 1. 3. de exact. l. 2. de spectaculis.
(b) C. Th. l. ult. de spectaculis.
(c) Lib. de idol. c. 20.

35. *That we should use this Form of Speech*, saith he, *Custome and Conversation exacts from us. For we must say, He is in the Temple of* Æsculapius, *in the Street of* Isis, *and he is made* Jupiter's *Priest, and many other things of this nature, seeing that Men are thus named. Neither do I honour* Saturn, *if I call any one by that name; nor* Mars, *if I call him* Mars. *If Gods are to be mentioned, something is to be added, whereby it may appear, that I of my self, do not so count them, as the Scripture names Gods, but adds*, their Gods, *or of* the Nations. As *Tertullian* thus excuseth these things, so he affirms it to be a Prevarication in Faith, for any Christian to swear *by the Gods*, which Custom and Ignorance sometimes extorted. But as in other things, Christian Princes took special care, not to joyn in Communion with *Pagans*; so they would

Christians not suffered to swear *by the Gods*, or *by their Genius*.

would not suffer their Subjects to swear *by their Genius*, yet *by their Health* or *Safety*, they did according to the ancient Custom of Christians, by which kind of Oath they witnessed that the thing was as true and certain, as they desired the Safety and Prosperity of the Emperour.

But *by the Emperours Health or Safety* was permitted.

36. But (to return to our Prosecution of such particular Acts of *Constantine*, as respected the Reformation) our Emperour, in the Twentieth of his Reign, by an (*a*) Edict, commanded the bloudy Combating of Gladiators to be taken away, willing, that such as for Offences committed against the Laws, had been wont to be subjected to such Conflicts, should be condemned to the Mines; although the Times were such, that this Exercise could not presently be abolished, continuing a long time, but at length it was quite taken away, upon what occasion we shall see hereafter. The Punishment of Malefactors by the Cross, he also forbid, as (*b*) *Sozomenus* tells us, who addeth, that he caused his Image upon Coins or in Pictures to be done with a Cross; as the Lance he was wont to use in Battel, some say (*c*) he caused to be fashioned into the Form of a Cross, which being left to his Successors, descended as low as *Henry* the Emperour, and his Son *Otho*.

(a) *C.Th.l.*1. *de gladiat.*

He takes away the combating of Gladiators by an Edict.

(b) *L.*1.*c.*8.

(c) *Baron.ad A.D.* 325.

37. After the Celebration of the *Nicene* Council, which was in the same Year, the former Edict was made, he more vigorously prosecuted Idolatry; though he constrained no Idolaters, as we said, to his own Religion, but only exhorted and sought to turn them by gentle means. *Eurapius Sardianus* complains that he overturned the most Famous Temples in the whole World, and every where erected Christian Structures. That this was done presently after the Council of *Nice*; *Eusebius*, or the (*a*) Author of his Life testifies, as also *Socrates*. The former tells us, that some of the *Pagan* Temples, were, by his command, untiled, and the Gates pulled down; others were quite demolished, and the Tiles and Timber carried away. And some Graven Images, which the Heathens had of a long time ignorantly adored, were erected in the Market-place of *Constantinople* as opprobious Spectacles. Here *Pythius* was placed, there *Sminthius*, in the *Cirque* the *Tripos* of *Delphos*, and the *Heliconian* Muses in the Palace. Having once resolved, he thought not fit to effect his Intentions by any hostile Violence, but making choice of certain trusty and approved Persons, sent them into all Places to suppress their inveterate and anciently received Errors. This they did, which must be understood in part, and as the times would give leave, for all Idolatry was not abolished, nor all *Pagan* Temples broken down a long time after.

He farther Prosecutes Idolatry, by destroying their Temples.

(a) *L.*3.*c.*52. *&c.*

And removing their Images.

38. But mention being made by the forecited Writers of *Constantinople*, how Images were in derision erected in the *Forum* of it, we must not forget to signifie, that the Reformation of Religion gave occasion to the building of that City, if *Zozimus* may be believed. He writeth, that a certain Festival-day being come, wherein it was the Custom for the Army to ascend into the Capitol, he spoke against the Ceremony contumeliously, and contemning it, incurred the Hatred both of Senate and People, whose Curses not able to bear, he sought where he might find a City equal to *Rome*, wherein to fix his Imperial Seat, and at length pitched upon *Byzantium*, which happened to be Dedicated afterward in the Five and twentieth Year of his Reign. In his One and twentieth Year, having taken away the publick Schools of Lust, he published an (*a*) Edict against private Uncleanness, Ordaining, that if any Woman lay with her Slave, she should be put to death, and he burnt. A little after he took away the use of (*b*) Concubines, which yet came in fashion again, and was permitted in the time of *Justinian*, so a Man was unmarried, and had but one, which thing being a great flaw of that Age, and very scandalous to Christianity, was by *Leo Philosophus* removed, (*c*) Ordaining, that it should not be lawful for Christians to have Concubines, subjoyning that excellent Reason out of *Solomon's Proverbs*: "That it was an unworthy thing, when Water might "be had out of a pure Fountain, to seek for a muddy a distempered one; "neither could it be difficult for any to find a Consort and Yoak-fellow. Whose example *Constantinus Porphyrogenneta* imitating, that amongst Christians there should no difference be accounted betwixt a Concubine and an Whore; and that it should not be lawful for any Christian to have one, as *Harmenopulus* witnesseth.

He fixeth his Imperial Seat at *Byzantium* or *Constantinople*.

Where he prohibits publick Bawdy-houses, and the use of Concubines.

(a) *C.Th.l.*1. *de muliere quæ Ser.*

(b) *L.*1.*C.de Concub.*

(c) *Novella*, 91.

(d) *L.*4.*c.*7.

39. Con-

39. *Constantine* his new City being perfected, was a great Monument and Testimony of the Reformation. For he (*a*) purged it from all Superstition and Idolatry, so that no where therein were Statues of Idols in their Temples, nor Altars defiled by the Blood of impure Sacrifices, nor Feasts of Devils celebrated. St. *Augustine* (*b*) reckoning up the several parts of *Constantine*'s Felicity; amongst other Accounts this not the least, That God granted his desires in building a City, which should be as the equal or Daughter of *Rome*, but without any Temple or Image of Devils. He Adorned it with many Churches, whereof one was called the *Church* (c) *of the Apostles*; another of *Peace*, being also called *Sapience*; and another (*d*) built without the City, and named *Michaelium*, in memory of St. *Michael the Archangel*, who is said, there to have appeared; besides others mentioned by (*e*) *Nicephorus*; all which he took care should be well furnished with Books, the charge of which Work, he imposed on *Eusebius* Bishop of *Cæsarea* by this Letter.

Adorns his new built City with divers Churches.

(*a*) *Euseb. sive Auth. vitæ Const. l.3.c.47.*

(*b*) *De civit. Dei. l. 5. c.25.*

(*c*) *Socrates, l.2. c. 12.*

(*d*) *Sozomenus, l.2. c. 2.*

(*e*) *L.7.c.49, 50.*

40. *Seeing* (a) *that by God's Divine Providence, a great multitude of People in this City, which is called after me* Constantinople, *have devoted themselves to the true Church; it is fit, that as their number increaseth, so more Churches should be erected. Know therefore, that we thought it necessary to signifie to your Wisdom, that you should provide fifty Church Books, containing those parts of Scripture which you think most useful and profitable to the Church, and most portable, being fairly and legibly writ in smooth Parchment. And we, out of gracious Clemency, have sent our Letters to the Governour of your Province, to furnish you with all things necessary for the charge thereof; you ought only to take care the Books be written with all speed. And we give you Power and Authority, by these our present Letters, to take up two Waggons for carriage of the Books. Moreover, when they are fairly written, I would have them brought to me by a Minister delegated to that purpose out of your Church, whom when he comes, we will reward. God keep and preserve you dear Brother.* The Emperours command was speedily performed, so that we sent him, saith our Author, fifty Books curiously written in Parchment, as may appear by his Letters of Answer, wherein he signified his joy and gladness when he heard that *Constantia* (formerly called *Gaza* in *Palestine*, but upon this change, named by him after his Sister) was Converted from Idolatrous Superstition, to the true Religion.

Furnishing them with Books.

(a) *Euseb. in vit. Const. l.4. c.50.*

41. But not only at *Constantinople*, but in *Italy*, at *Rome*, and throughout the Empire, great was his Magnificence in the building and endowing of Churches, concerning which, a Book was written, which *Anastasius* the *Vatican* Library keeper published out of it; several are mentioned by the Author of his Life, and other Writers. He commanded one to be built in the very place where our Saviour's Sepulchre was, which the Heathens endeavouring to deface, had there built a Chappel to *Venus*. Vast was the Magnificence of this Church, as it is described in his (*a*) Life; wherein are also mentioned others built at (*b*) *Bethlem*, and on the Mount of *Olives*, at (*c*) *Nicomedia*, and other Cities; one at the (*d*) Oak of *Mambre*, where it was thought our Saviour appeared to *Abraham*; another at (*e*) *Heliopolis* in *Phænicia*, where was demolished the Image of *Venus*. Others speak of the (*f*) stately Church from the former called *Constantiniana*, but more commonly *Saviour*'s at *Rome*, below his Palace on Mount *Cœlius*, having before caused to be built a more stately one at the Confession of St. *Peter*, where he himself first opened the Ground, and in memory of the Twelve Apostles, bore upon his shoulders so many Burthens of Earth; as *Vespasian* had formerly done, at the re-edifying of the Capitol. Many, besides these, were raised in *Italy*, *Gall*, and other Parts, so Manificently built, splendidly furnished, and plentifully endowed, that *Pagan* Historians hence accuse him of immense Profuseness, and extravagant Building of unprofitable Places.

Builds another Church at our Saviour's Sepulchre.

With several others in divers places.

(a) *L.3.c.p.28. &c.*

(b) *C.p.40.42.*

(c) *C. 49.*

(d) *C. 50.*

(e) *C.56.*

(f) *Acta Sylvestri apud Baronum ad A. D. 324.*

42. Yet notwithstanding these vast Expences, such was the Abstinence both of him and several his Successors, that having the Wealth of the Idol-Temples in their Power, though such a thing might have been done upon a Religious account, and to make amends for all the Injuries and Losses the Christians had sustained from the *Pagans*, for above three hundred Years, they abstained from it at *Rome*; although in the last, where the Influence of the Senate was not so great, sometimes *Constantine*, as he justly might make bold with it, as the Author (*a*) of his Life writes concerning Golden Images which he caused to be melted, and reserved the Mettal to his own use. Such also was his Modesty, that

His Abstinence in not meddling with the Wealth of the Idol Temples near *Rome*.

(a) *L.3 c.52.*

His Modesty in refusing his Name to be engraven on any of the new Buildings.

that although he had Erected so many Monuments of his Glory, yet upon none of them was his Name ingraved, contemning that which most of his Predecessors had so earnestly thirsted after, of whom *Trajan*, though accounted the best, caused his Name to be affixed to all his publick Works, so that *Constantine* facetiously and wittily called him *herba parietina*, as *Aurelius Victor* tells us.

He encourages and provides for those that turn Christians.

43. Such was *Constantine*'s Care and Cost for the publick Worship. For the encouragement of private Persons, we read, (*a*) that (besides what we have formerly mentioned) he Ordained, that such Sons or Slaves that were born in Superstition, should not be forced to keep to it against their minds: that Maintenance out of the Exchequer was plentifully allotted to such as turned Christians: in the first place a white Garment for Baptism, and twenty *Solidi* were allowed, provided (you must know) that they brought for their admittance, a Ticket from the Bishop of *Rome*. (*b*) *Nicephorus* writes, that in one year at *Rome*, were Baptized above twelve Men, besides Women and Children. In the former Treatise is found, that *Constantine* at the same time in the *Ulpian* Palace, made an Oration to the *Roman* Senate and People, 'Concerning the Faith of Christ to be imbraced by all, leaving yet a free choice to every one, what Religion they would cleave to; but declaring, that they were more acceptable that turned Christians. To the same purpose he published an Edict, which we have exemplified in his (*c*) Life, directed as well to the Princes of the East, as those of the West, wherein he asserts the truth of divers Arguments first, and then invites all to imbrace it, declaring that none should be forced, but received if coming on their own accord, and permitting others to frequent the Temples of their Idols, and use their Rites. From which it appears that such are mistaken, who suppose that all Temples were shut up, and their Ceremonies banished utterly, especially in *Italy*, and those places where the *Roman* Senate had the most Influence. Yet did he forbid such Magistrates, publickly to Sacrifice to Idols, as were chosen from amongst the *Pagans*; by a Law prohibited Divinations, and Commanded, as we have said, Churches to be built, as he had given example at *Rome*, larger than ever.

And exhorts all men to embrace the Faith of Christ.

(a) *Acta Sylvestri ubi supra.*

(b) *L. 7. c. 34.*

(c) *L. 2. c. 47. &c.*

44. We must also account the Munificence of *Constantine*, which he shewed towards his new Citizens of *Constantinople*; not only an incouragement to such as should inhabit that City, but also to the Profession of Religion, if we consider the reason alledged by *Zozimus* for the founding of it, and the great care the Emperour took to have it clear from Idolatry, making it a Christian Colony, and the first Christian City (universally such) throughout the Empire. First of all he bestowed Bread (*a*) on such as had Houses at *Constantinople*, which Loaves were called (*b*) *Palatine*. Others (*c*) he assigned to Souldiers that also had Adorned the City with Buildings. And other Loaves (*d*) that year wherein he was Consul, he caused every day to be distributed to the common sort, to which he added Wine, Flesh, and Oil, as *Suidas* (*e*) tells us, which was observed for many years. (*f*) One says he dayly bestowed on the Poor eighty thousand Loaves, (*g*) another eighty thousand Modii of Wheat. This Bread was course, weighing two Ounces and an half. But *Valentinian* gave it pure weighing six Ounces, and the allowance was increased afterward, both by (*h*) *Theodosius* the Great, and (*i*) *Marcian*. For the distributing of it, Scaffolds were erected in many places, to which the Poor ascended by Steps. For one only place being not capable of such a vast Multitude, one hundred and seventeen Marble Stairs or Steps throughout the fourteen Regions of *Constantinople* were made, as we find in the Ancient Description or Survey of that City placed before the *Notitia*, whence this Bread was termed *gradilis*, it being unlawful for any to receive it, but on the Stairs according to assignment.

He gives Food to the Inhabitants of *Constantinople*.

(a) C. *Th. de annon. Civit. l.* 8. & 9.

(b) C. *eodem l.* 12. & 13.

(c) C. *eodem l.* 1. & 10.

(d) *De anno Civit.*

(e) *In voce* παλατίνοι.

(f) *Metaphrastes in Paulo Patriarcha Constantinop.*

(g) *Socrates.*

(h) C. *Th. l.* 5.

(i) C. *Th. l. penult.*

45. For to every Tribe certain Stairs were assigned, which it was unlawful to change; the Officials of the *Præfectus Annonæ*, to whom (*a*) the case of this distribution was committed, strictly looking into it. These Loaves are called *Civiles*, because they were bestowed on *Cives* or Citizens in distinction, from the Palatine, and others that were given to certain Schools or Academies of War: this *Annona* or Provision was also called (*b*) *Popularis* and *Civica*. The same sort of Liberality, but not in such a measure, had *Trajan* shown at *Rome*, allowing Food to (*c*) twelve thousand Boys and Girls, of which *Aurelian* increased the number, as *Vopiscus* saith; whereupon in most of the Coins of *Trajan* and *Hadrian*, these Stairs are seen, by which the People ascended to receive Bread, on the top whereof is seen a Scribe, and another with a Badge of

(a) C. *Th. l.* 2.

(b) *De annon. Civit. l.* 2.

(c) *Plin. in Panigyrico.*

of distinction, who distributed the Loaves. At first this Allowance could neither be alienated, nor transferred from one to another; but afterwards being alienated, *Theodosius* confirmed the Contracts, and permitted it to be removed from one to another, so that afterward they might both be alienated otherwise, and given in Dowry.

He provides for the Interment of the Dead.

46. Yet his care extended not only to the Living, he thought it a Point of Christian Prudence and Piety to provide for the decent Interment of the Dead; and therefore Instituted a company of Men, who were to take care of it *gratis*, being called *Lectuarii*, for carrying the Dead out on Beds, and *Decani*, perhaps because they were divided into Decads or Tens. For the maintenance of this Company, he gave to the greater Church of *Constantinople* Nine hundred and fifty Shops, to which *Anastasius* afterward added One hundred and fifty, with certain other Revenues. The Prefect of the City had the inspection over them, whom *Justinian* ordered to restore some of them to the Church which had been usurped by private Men, and appoint to the Defenders of the Church (*Defensores*) Eight hundred, to the *Oeconomi* or Stewards Three hundred, who out of their Revenues should monthly allow Four hundred Aurei to Religious Persons, *viz.* to the *Decani* One hundred eighty two, those called *Ascetrii* or Eight *Moniales*, who sung after the Beire Ninety one, to *Acclythi* that carried Lights Ninety one, to *Canonical Women* that served the Hospital and Sung, Thirty six; which Sum yearly amounted to Four thousand eight hundred Aurei. Such as would be at a greater Expence, both for Beds (or Biers) and more *Ascetria* too, were to pay what is specified in the Novel of *Justinian*, which will have an *Ascetrium* to consist of Eight *Moniales* and Three *Acclythi*. But the *Lectuarii* bore the Body, made the Grave, and did other things belonging to this Office, whereupon they were called κοπιατοὶ or Labourers, being put in their places by the Præfect of the City. At *Constantinople*, it is not certain where their Residence or Habitation was, though it be probable that they lived together, that so they might the more easily be found out, as at *Rome*, where they lived in one place (in the Fourteenth Region of the City) called *Castra Lectuariorum*. As for their number, it doth not appear. *Novell.* 59. & 43.

His further kindness to Christians and its Religion.

47. Thus much did *Constantine* really do for a Reformation, first removing Penal Statutes against Christians, then incouraging them by Restitution of their own, afterward by discountenancing Idolatry, as much as the necessity of times would permit, and by his Liberality towards Professors of the true Religion. The Pastors or Bishops thereof, he imbraced with singular kindness, and a tender Fatherly care, not sowing amongst them Discord, but composing their Differences, not by owning a Monarchy in a Monarchy, or making one Lord of the rest, and of all Gods Inheritance; by giving him incouragement in earthly Dominion, or affording fewel to that flame of Ambition, which should at length prey upon the whole Christian World. Yet some Men have proceeded to that Vanity, as having first fancied to themselves a Spiritual Monarchy by Divine Right, in the next place, to impose a necessity upon the same Providence, for the maintenance of it in a Secular way, and *Constantine*, the first Reformer, Incourager and Indower, must have the Honour, not only to provide for the Body due maintenance, but a Crown also for the Pride and Haughtiness of a Supposititious and Prodigious Head. The good Man dreamed of nothing less. He knew no Head of the Church but him in Heaven, and though priority of place he might account reasonable to him who governed the Church in the Metropolis of the Empire, yet he perfectly understood the quality and limits of his Power, not judging his own concernments in Religious Matters, less than those of the Kings of *Israel* in old time, nor imagining that our Saviour, who said his Kingdom was not of this World, had designed the lessening of Temporal Power, or subduing it wholly to a Spiritual Empire.

48. Yet is he made a great and voluntary Agent in such a prodigious Design, and as a Testimony thereof, a Constitution of his is produced, whereby a vast Temporal Dominion is bestowed on *Sylvester* Bishop of *Rome* and his Successors. Great difference there is amongst the Affertors of the Spiritual Empire, concerning the Authority of the Edict, and even the verity of the Donation, the reputation of it being almost extinct, till a little revived of late times by one *Marta* a Doctor of *Naples*, who is so confident of the certainty and truth thereof, that he saith, *Non esse ulterius dubitandum*, None ought hereafter to doubt, but that it was really made by *Constantine*. But that which gives greatest countenance to the Edict, is the Decretal Epistle of Pope *Leo* the

the Ninth, who *verbatim* almost, repeats it whole so far as concerns the Donation.

A forged Edict of *Constantine*'s, to *Silvester* Bishop of *Rome*.

49. "As namely how *Constantine* wrote in his Edict, that he would exalt "the most Holy See of *Peter* more than his own Empire or earthly Throne, "giving unto that See, *Potestatem dignitatem & honorificentiam Imperialem*, "Imperial Power, Dignity, Vigor and Honour, (whereby the Pope, of a "Bishop, is made an Emperour, and above the Secular Emperour himself.) "How he Decreed, that the *Roman* See *Principatum teneat*, should be Chief "of other Churches, and have Principality above the See of *Alexandria*, "*Antioch*, *Jerusalem* and *Constantinople*, and of all other Churches in the whole "World, (whereby the Spiritual Principality above other Patriarchs and Bishops "is conferred on the Pope.) How he gave to *Sylvester* and his Successors "for ever, his *Lateran Palace*, which is preferred above all Palaces in the "World, his Diadem and Crown, his *Mandilion*, his Cloak, his Coat, & "*omnia Imperialia indumentá*, all Imperial Robes which he himself wore, his "Imperial Guard, his Imperial Scepter, & *omnem processionem Imperialis cul-*"*minis*, & *gloriam potestatis nostræ*, and all the residue of his Imperial Dignity, "Honour and Power. There is his Estate such, and so Pompous, that *Con-*"*stantine* himself, (as the Charter saith) held the Pope's Bridle, and performed "*officio Stratoris*, the Office of a Groom of the Stable, or Yeoman of the "Stirrup unto the Pope. Here to the end that the Pontifical Height should "not seem vile, but be Adorned more than the Dignity and Power of the "earthly Empire; he gave unto *Sylvester* and his Successors for ever, both "the City of *Rome*, and all the Provinces, Places and Cities of *Italy*, and the "Western Countries, Decreeing all these his Grants to be kept inviolable "and unchangeable, *usque in finem mundi*, even to the end of the World. Here's the Popes Revenues, and the Rich Patrimony of St. *Peter*.

Epist. 1. *Leon.* 9. *c.* 12, 13, 14.

50. Thus much and far more doth Pope *Leo verbatim* recite, out of the Edict or Charter of *Constantine*, all which he saith, he sets down, lest any scruple of doubt should remain, touching the Popes earthly Dominion, *Neve leviter suspicemini ineptis & anilibus fabulis sanctam Romanam sedem velle sibi inconcessum honorem vendicare & defensare aliqua tenus*; Lest any should so much as but lightly suspect, that the *Roman* See would challenge, or any way defend their Honour, by foolish and uncertain Fables. Yea, he adds of this Edict, and that which he cites out of it, that he therefore relates it that hereby, *Veritas fundetur & confundatur Vanitas*; That Truth may be confirmed, and Vanity confounded, and that all Catholicks may know, *nos*, himself and other Popes, to be the Disciples of that *Peter*, who saith of himself, We *have not followed Unlearned, or sophisticated or falsely devised Fables*. And yet more to Commend this Edict, he adjoyns; "Know ye that we do inculcate unto you these "things which we have not so much recovered, *Relatu quolibet*, by any Re-"lation or Hearsay, *quam quæ ipso visu & tactu comperta sunt*; as which we have "found out by our own sight and feeling. Thus writes Pope *Leo* for the Certainty, Truth and Credit of this Charter of Donation, so Pontifically and Assuredly, as one saith, as if he had seen *Constantine* set his Seal unto the same, or lay it with his own hand upon the Body of St. *Peter*, as the same *Leo* saith he did.

Dr. *Crackanthorp* in his Defence of *Constantine*. p. 127.

51. This Charter carries in its own Face such manifest Tokens of Forgery, that the recital may well enough seem a sufficient Confutation of it, and to such as are conversant in Histories, and not ignorant of the State of *Rome*, and all the Western Provinces long after *Constantine*'s time, and how they were governed, it cannot but seem exceedingly Ridiculous. But farther observe, that the very Ground and Occasion why *Constantine* is said to have made this Charter, is false and forged, *viz.* the supposed Leprosie, Persecution and Baptism of *Constantine* by *Sylvester*, as we shall see in due time and place. Secondly, who can abstain from smiling, to find the See of *Constantinople* mentioned in this Edict, as one of the Patriarchal Sees, whereas neither had it Patriarchal Dignity, before the second General Council, (that is more than fifty Years after the Donation is supposed to be made) nor was there at that time so much as the name of *Constantinople*; for the City was then called *Byzantium*, and several Years after, not changing its name till after the *Nicene* Council, as *Baronius* acknowledgeth. But this Donation of *Constantine* being made a little after his supposed Baptism by *Sylvester* (the fourth day, as the Acts of that Pope declare) fell into the Twenty ninth year of his Reign, and that preceding the *Nicene* Council.

Which is plainly proved to be such upon these accounts.

One

One would therefore think that there was some Fraud used in the inserting of this name, but that there is an uniform Consent in all the Forms and Copies of the Charter, both *Greek* and *Latin*, kept safely in their Vatican, as they affirm, and ratified by the Decretal Epistle of Pope *Leo* for true and Authentical; so that there can be no suspition of Corruption in those words of the Edict. The Errour and Corruption was in the Author alone, who forged such a gross and uncreditable Untruth.

52. But Thirdly, had *Constantine* given Principality to the *Roman* See above all Churches in the World, as the Charter saith he did, what Folly was it in *John* Bishop of *Constantinople*, *Cyriacus* and others, to strive for that Prehenninence? Why did not *Boniface* the Third shew this Charter made by *Constantine*? Why did he use so much intreaty and means to *Phocas* a Murtherer (as *Platina* saith he did) that the Church of *Rome* might be called First of all Churches? When the same was long before almost three hundred years, granted by a fair Charter to the *Roman* See, by so worthy and renowned an Emperour. Fourthly, In this Edict *Constantine* is made solemnly to give to Pope *Sylvester* the *Lateran Palace* which *Sigonius*, *Baronius* and *Binnius* (all) will have bestowed long before on Pope *Miltiades* his Predecessor, in the Seventh year of *Constantine*, *viz.* twelve years before he was either Baptized, or made this Charter of Donation. Fifthly, In this Edict *Constantine* is made to say, that he will have all People in the World to know, that he had builded unto Christ within his Palace of *Lateran*, a Church from the very Foundation, together with a Font; yet was the Edict made, as they themselves profess, in the fourth day after *Constantine* was Baptized, and how then was it possible that such a Stately Fabrick should be raised in four days? Especially considering that the Acts of *Sylvester* having declared what *Constantine* did all the seven days he was in *Albis* after his Baptism, say, that he laid the Foundation of this Church on the eighth day. Whether then could that Church be builded on the fourth day, whose Foundation was but begun and the Earth first digged on the eighth day after his Baptism?

53. Further, Sixthly, This Edict, as by the words of it are evident, followed the Leprosie of *Constantine* supposed, and his Baptism, and therefore could not be made before the ninth year of his Reign, wherein both these, *Baronius* and *Binnius* account to have happened. Yet is it dated *in the fourth Consulship of* Constantine, *which he exercised with* Gallicanus, whereas his fourth Consulship was in the Tenth year of his Reign, by which account he should have made this Edict and Donation eight or nine years before the occasion and cause thereof was presented; besides (see the Stupidity of the Forger) not *Gallicanus*, but *Licinius* the fourth time was Consul with *Constantine* in his fourth Consulship, as appeareth both by the *Fasti* and many Imperial Constitutions of this Year. And indeed forasmuch as *Gallicanus* was never Consul with *Constantine*, as by the *Fasti* is evident, this Edict supposed to be made in their Royal Consulship was never made.

From the Testimony of Cardinal *Baronius*.

54. To these reasons may be added the Testimony of their Cardinal *Baronius*, with whom agreeth *Gretzer*, who hath written an Apology for him in this very Point. He (*a*) proves it a meer Figment and Forgery, because first the antient Popes since *Constantine*'s time, though having many occasions to dispute against Princes touching the Rights and Prerogatives of the Church, yet none of them before the thousandth year after Christ, is read to have defended the same by Authority of this Edict, and yet they knew and make mention of *Sylvester*'s Acts. 2. It is certain that the Emperours make no mention of that Edict of *Constantine*'s Donation, and yet in the Charter of *Henry* the First, there is mention made of all the former Emperours who had made such ample Donations to the *Roman* See. 3. This Edict was not in the Ancient Acts of *Sylvester*, but was by Forgery inserted into them after the thousandth year of Christ, being feigned by some *Græcian* under the Name of *Eusebius*, and published by *Theodorus Balsamon*, whereas till then no *Græcian* had set it forth: and from the *Græcians* it came to the *Latins* and Western Church: *Leo* the Ninth being the first Pope that makes mention of it. Thus by the Cardinals acknowledgment, we may see what Truth there is in Popes, especially in *Leo*, who in his Decretal Epistle most solemnly commends this Edict for an Ancient and undoubted Evidence, such as he knew by sight and sence to be the true Deed of *Constantine*, which yet the Cardinal, after long sifting of Monuments and Records, testifieth to be a Forgery, and that of the *Græcians* first of all devised, as he saith, about Seven hundred, and published Eight hundred years after the Death of *Constantine*. *Strenchus* (*b*) against this

(a) *Baron. ad An.* 1191. *Num.* 52. *&c.*

(b) *De Don. Constant.*

Date asserteth it for marvelous Impudence in any to deny that this Donation or Edict is set down in those Acts of *Sylvester*, whereof *Gelasius* speaketh, saying, I can produce all Libraries for witness hereof, all which have, together with the History of *Sylvester*'s Baptizing *Constantine*, this Donation Priviledge or Edict.

And *Stenchus* the Vatican Library-keeper.

55. This *Stenchus*, who was also Library-keeper to the Pope, convinceth as an eye Witness his Fellow *Baronius* of Impudence and Untruth, for denying this Donation to be mentioned in these Acts of *Sylvester*, of which *Gelasius* speaks, and for slandering the *Greeks* as devisers of it about the Year 1000, which to have been in their Vatican before that in the time of *Gelasius*, he for a certainty assures us. Hence a Learned Man deservedly breaks forth into this Exclamation: How may we trust any Vatican Library-keeper, if *Stenchus*, an Eye-witness, be not to be trusted in this Case? And if we credit him, who ever hereafter will trust his Fellow *Baronius*, who thus notoriously downfaceth the Truth? However one may rightly affirm that both of them do in part say truth, and both of them in part do err. That this Edict of Donation is a very Figment, *Baronius* rightly avoucheth, but *Stenchus* and the rest holding the contrary with him, speak far amiss. Again, that this Edict was of Ancient time in the Popes Library, and in those Acts of *Sylvester*, which *Gelasius* mentioneth, in this *Stenchus* deserveth to be credited. But *Baronius*, in saying it was not extant till the 1000 year after Christ, nor published till *Balsamon*'s time, in those the Cardinal saith far amiss. So with *Stenchus* we profess, and have proved also the same Edict to be nothing else but a Forgery and Figment. What they say amiss we reject in either: what they rightly affirm, we accept of either, and upon the true Confession of *Baronius*, we conclude it to be a Forgery. And upon both these Truths, which they severally profess, we rightly and safely conclude it to be an Ancient Forgery.

Dr Cracknanth. quo suprà.

Another Popish Argument for the Donation

56. But though the Edict or instrument of the Donation be forged or falsified, yet the Donation it self may be good, saith (*a*) *Gretzer*, who for such Labours to defend it, telling us that the Popes have other undoubted Charters for their Temporal Dominions, (which Cardinal (*b*) *Albanus* flatly denies) though their Rights justly rely also upon the Donation of *Constantine*. His strange reasoning lyes in *perhaps*, an acute Logician saith he, will say, *That perhaps the Donation was made by witnesses only without any Instrument*. But though a frivolous caviling Sophister may, yet no sober Man will say so. Where are these Witnesses, or who ever heard of them? Why may not the Bishop of *Constantinople* plead the like Donation by word of Mouth, of *Rome* and *Italy* from *Constantine* to him and his Successors for ever; and say it is proved by Witnesses, that now are dead without any Deed or Instrument to testifie the same? And how can an acute Logician effectually overthrow the one and defend the other Donation? But to silence the Jesuits acute Logician, three several Popes, *viz. Adrian*, *Leo* the Ninth, and *Nicholas* the Third, are Witnesses that the Donation of *Constantine* was made by a Charter and Instrument, whereof the first saith of that Constitution, and others that they were kept in *Lateranensi Scrinio*, in the *Lateran* Registry; and this was about the Year 790. The second tells us he saw and handled the very Charter of *Constantine*'s Donation, which was about the Year 1050. And the third saith that *Constantine* left unto *Sylvester* the City of *Rome*, and declared *Per Pragmaticum Constitutum*, by a Pragmatical Constitution or Writ of Record, that he and his Successors should have the disposing or Government thereof; which was about the Year 1280. To these might be added the Testimonies of Cardinal *Albanus* and several others, of whom some profess they were Eye-witnesses of that (forged) Constitution.

(a) *Append. ad lib. de munific. Princip.*
(b) *Lib. de Don. Constant.*

Drawn from perhaps.

57. *Gretzer* his acute Logician will farther say. *It may be that the Instrument or Charter is either perished or corrupted by long Continuance.* A Saying every whit as worthy and rational as the former. So may also another, and as good a Logician say of the Donation of *Rome* and *Italy* made by *Constantine* to the Bishops of *Constantinople*. And whether is *Stenchus*, with all Libraries, Pope *Gelasius*, and *Leo* the Ninth, so assuredly testifying the forged Charter not to be lost or perished: or *Gretzer*'s Logician, coming in with another *perhaps* more to be credited in this Cause? After these so furious Assaults of Logick, he leads on his great and prevalent Arguments, which he is forced to call *Probabilities* or *Conjectures*. One of the best is taken out of *Baronius*, who saith, *It is not for nothing that the French Kings in their Writs of Donation do profess that they restore to the* Roman *Church the Dominions which they took from the* Lombards.

And from Probabilities and Conjectures.

But

But the Inference thence made, is neither necessary nor probable. They might be restored, though the Popes had got them by Invasion, wrongful Intrusion, Fraud, Robbery, Rebellion or Treason, as the Popes got them in very Deed, from the Eastern Emperour, not possessing them by Right or by any Donation, much less that of *Constantine*, as is clear from *Sigonius* an Historian of their own, and we shall particularly discover in due time and place. His other Conjecture is, *Seeing it is most certain that before* Pipin's *time, yea before* Aripert's *(that is before the* 704. *year of our Lord) the Popes had divers Provinces subject to their Dominion, and there appears no Evidence for any other Title, whereby they should have and hold those Lands, it followeth that the right to have them is not unprobably derived from the Donation of* Constantine.

58. His Proof is only of the Patrimony of the *Cottian Alps*, and his Conclusion is of many Provinces, whereas that Patrimony was so far from (*a*) containing many or any one Province, that it was but certain Villages or Farm-houses in the Northwest Part of the *Alps*; and what is this to the Donation pretended from *Constantine*? A few Cottages or Farm-houses, as he himself calls them, to *Rome*, to all *Italy*, to all the Western Provinces and Kingdoms. And were there not many other means how the Pope might get them besides *Constantine*'s Donation? Besides it is clear from *Sigonius*, that *Aripert* and *Litprandus* gave of their own to the *Roman* See, as well as restored those Farms, and how could they give what was its Right before? And farther, what is this Patrimony which their own Writers confess to have owned subjection to the Emperour by Tribute, to an Imperial Monarchical Supream and Independent Dominion in all *Italy* and the Western Provinces? These Arguments are too frivolous to be insisted on: we shall come to those of our own against this Donation, which carry with them much more weight, and will, to any indifferent Person, put the question out of all Dispute. The first is drawn from the Testament of *Constantine*, wherein he is said to have divided the whole Empire amongst his Sons. To be sure whether it was divided before or after his Death, the Western Part fell to *Constantine* and *Constans*, the Eastern to *Constantius*, even by consent of the Pope's greatest Disciples *Sigonius* and (*c*) *Baronius*. Then is it at all to be believed, that if *Constantine* had formerly made, either by Word or Writing, an absolute Donation of *Rome*, *Italy*, and the Western Provinces to the Pope (and that so Solemnly, that as *Leo* the Ninth saith, he Decreed that Donation to abide firm and inviolable unto the end of the World) so Pious and Prudent an Emperour would within twelve Years after do contrary to his own Act? Especially in his last Will and Testament, wherein he would rather have testified his Religious Affection and Love to the Church, by an Addition of some other Gift, than leave so eternal a Blemish upon his Name, of Inconstancy, Injustice, Impiety, Sacrilege, and making his own Children Inheritors of what he knew was neither his to give, nor which they, without open Injustice (if he had right to give it) Impiety and Sacrilege might accept, hold or Possess.

(a) *Sigonius de Regn. Ital. lib.* 1.

Which are silly, and as such proved by three convincing Arguments.

(b) *De occident. Imp. l.* 5.
(c) *Ad Ann.* 337.

59. A second reason is, the perpetual Possession and Dominion which the Emperours had of *Rome* and *Italy*, with the Government thereof, which continued still in them, not only after *Constantine*'s time, but even whilst he lived, till it was unjustly first taken from them by the Popes, and then confirmed by *Pipin*, *Charles* the Great and others. In the very next Year after this supposed Donation, was (*a*) *Severus* Præfect of *Rome* appointed by *Constantine* to govern it, with the Cities belonging thereunto, by Imperial Authority as it formerly had been: The next year after was (*b*) *Maximus*, the two following (*c*) *Ancius Julianus* and *Optalianus*, and throughout all *Constantine*'s time, every Year he had his Lieutenants to Govern the City of *Rome* for him and in his Right. It were easie to express almost in each Year the several *Præfecti urbis* under *Constans*, *Constantius*, *Valentinian*, *Theodosius* and other Emperours, for more than One hundred Years after *Constantine*, and several have according to occasion been mentioned. After the time of *Valentinian* the Younger, when the Western Empire, through the Corruption of Barbarous Nations, began to decay, that the Supream Government of *Rome* and *Italy* still remained in the Emperour his appointing Kings of *Italy*, after them Dukes of *Rome*, and Enarchs of *Ravenna* is a sufficient proof, and this is evident, not only from other Authors, but *Sigonius* (*d*) the Popes own Servant. Now can it be imagined that all these Emperours would so injuriously intrude into St. *Peter*'s Patrimony? Can any one imagine that the Popes, Men of high Courage to defend their Right, would have put up so great Wrong, without so much as once

(a) *C.Th.l.*2. *de judiciis.*
(b) *C.Th.l.*2. *ad legem com. de falso.*
(c) *Onuph. in Fastos. l.*2.
(d) *L.*14,15, *&c.*

checking the Emperour for so open Injustice, Sacrilege, and Usurpation? May not the silence of so many Popes, and continued Possession by so many Emperours, be thought a just reason to condemn that pretended Donation?

60. But the third Proof, that *Constantine* made no such Donation, is the Testimony of their own Writers, who seeing that neither *Eusebius*, *Rufinus*, *Theodoret*, *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, *Eutropius*, *Victor*, St. *Jerome*, St. *Augustin*, St. *Basil*, St. *Chrysostome*, nor *Ammianus*, the *Tripertite History*, *Damascen*, *Bede*, nor *Orosius*, nor any who have most diligently written the Acts of *Constantine* (being Authors of good Credit) not only do make no mention of this Donation, but further declare that he so divided the *Roman* Empire amongst his Three Sons, that all *Italy* was alotted to one of them. And own it as a Fable concerning the Testimonies of whom, as also the Arguments offered by *Marta* and others in vain, to confirm the Fictitious Donation, amongst many others who have written abundantly to satisfaction in this Argument, Dr.* *Crackanthorp* a most Learned Church Antiquary is especially to be consulted, we having rather by saying so much, transcended the Nature of our Design.

* In his Defence of *Constantine* and his Treatise of the Popes Temporal Dominion

61. *Constantine*, though not guilty of such a Crime, as to found or establish a Spiritual Tyranny, yet sufficiently provided for the Patrimony of the Church, first by (*a*) restoring, as we formerly said, its Ancient Possessions, of which it had been robbed in times of Persecution, the Oblations and Treasures of the Church being before his time so very great, that the Bishops of *Rome* might easily purchase much more than that one Patrimony in the *Cottian Alps*, containing a few Farms or Villages. He became a very great Benefactor by that Law mentioned by the (*b*) Author of his Life, by Virtue whereof; If none of the Kindred of Martyrs Confessors and Exiles were alive, who might succeed them as Heirs, it was Enacted, that every where, and for ever, the Church should have and enjoy their Possessions. These Incouragements his own Example and the Religious Inclination of Christians, always affectionate in their first Conversion, were sufficient Foundations for ample Structures. Many private Men gave not only Goods, but Lands and fair Possessions both to other Churches and that of *Rome*. *Prosper* (*c*) writes, that the Church of *Arles* was inriched with the Possessions that many bestowed on it. So many and so ample Donations of Lands were made to the Church in St. *Austin*'s time, that both *Aurelius* (*d*) his Predecessor, and (*e*) himself also sometime, refused Lands that were offered to be given, sometimes restored them, and that unasked, after they were given. The like Donations might be shewed in other Churches, especially in the *Roman*, to which they were so usually made, that Christian Emperours (as *Valentinian*, *Gratian* and *Theodosius*) by their (*f*) Edicts did restrain them; and the like Laws were made in *Spain* and *France* in after-times, which were imitated by the Famous Statute of *Mortmain*, Enacted here in *England Novemb.* 4. in the Seventh Year of *Edward* the First. But thus much of the Reformation of Religion by *Constantine*, carried on as the Times and Affairs would comport, the Progress and Perfection of it we shall discover in due time and order.

(a) *Euseb. Eccl. Hist. l.* 10. *c.* 5. *& vita Constant. lib.* 2. *c.* 39.

(b) *L.* 2. *c.* 36.

Such large Gifts to the Church, that enforceth a Statute of *Mortmain*.

(c) *De vita Contemp. l.* 2. *c.* 9.

(d) *Serm.* 49. *de diverf.*

(e) *Possidonius in vita Aug. c.* 24.

(f) *C. Th. l.* 20. *de Epist. Eccl. & clericis.*

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

The Church Polity.

Order and Government absolutely necessary.

1. THat Government and Order are necessary for the well being of Mankind, however distinguished into Parties and Societies, is too evident to be disputed; the Effects of them, and of their Contraries, are so convincing, that they equal the Causes of the most clear Demonstrations. Such is the Depravity of Mens Minds and Inclinations, so violent their Tendency to all Mischief, that they can no more subsist without Government, that live without Disorders (if left to themselves) and mutual Injuries. Therefore hath the wise Creator and Disposer of all things, that he might regulate our Inconstancy, and bridle the Extravagance of our wild and violent Affections, ordained his Deputies in the World, with a Rule for Direction, and a Rod for the Corruption of Manners, with that to lead, and this to drive us on in the right way, lest the disturbance of Order should bring Confusion, and Confusion certain Ruine and Destruction.

2. Such being Gods Ordinance and Constitution in Civil Society and external Commerce, can it be supposed that equal Care should be wanting for the Government of his Church, which is the *House of God*, the *City of the living God*, the *Kingdom of his most dear Son.* He that takes such Care for Kingdoms of the World, would he not make as good Provision for such as he hath taken out of the World? If Disorder, Confusion and Anarchy be a thing to be dreaded in the State, is it not as much to be feared in the Church? God is no where the Father of Confusion, but of Order and Peace, how much more than in that Spiritual Community? Where he Commands that all things be done Decently and in Order? But what Order can there be, where there is no Governour, where there is none that obeys, where every one may do what is lawful in his own Eyes? Therefore hath he appointed Stewards over his Family, Leaders over his Flock, Labourers over his Harvest, Husbandmen over his Field, in sum, Diversities of Administrations both for the Building and Preserving of his Church, which is the Body of Christ. In it hath he placed, as in the Humane Body, several Principal Members in Subjection and Subordination to himself the Head, which being as Eyes, Ears, Mouth and Hands, the Body might not seem Deformed and Maimed, nor be unable, for want of Help and Conduct, to look to it self, or provide for its own Health and Security. But we must not suppose that Discipline is necessary in the Church meerly for to contain the People in Obedience, for regulating the Flock, and not for the Government of the Pastors. This were to secure the Feet, and neglect the upper and most Principal Parts, which by how much they are more Excellent, the Diseases of them are more Dangerous? The House cannot stand, if the Builders themselves pull it down, the Harvest must be lost, if the Labourers Scatter, and Gather not. If the Salt have lost its Savour, wherewith shall it be Seasoned? If the Light of the day be Darkness, how great is the Darkness of the Body? If the Leaders themselves go Astray, the Souldiers must needs go aside and Wander.

For Regulating the Pastors as well as the Flock.

3. Yet in a thing of such Consequence, and wherein no less than the Welfare of the Body of Christ himself is concerned, a Polity and Government is not to be Framed according to the Pleasure of Man, neither is his Fancy to be the Standard where Decency and Order are the utmost Bounds. An indeavour is to be used ever, that the same Administration of External Discipline be used in the Church, which our Lord himself hath taught, and from the Beginning of the World approved. Now that Polity which God appointed at the Beginning for the External Government of his People (the Internal by his Spirit in the Hearts of the Faithful we own and meddle not with) consisted in the Authority and Power given to Fathers over their Families. For he would that the Fathers should be both Instructors and Governours to their Children, Nephews, and all under their Power, commanding their whole Off-spring to pay them Honour, Obedience and Observance, to acknowledge the Will of God revealed to their Fathers, and obey their Admonitions and Instructions in his Worship. A most certain

Paternal Government first appointed by God himself.

Consule Bilsonum Episcop. Vintoniensem lib. de perpetua Ecclesiæ Christi Gubernatione cap. 1. &c.

certain Reward of this Obedience, was the Blessing of God pronounced by the Mouths of Parents, who also foretold the Curse of God against Disobedient and Rebellious Children. The Patriarchs of old were Priests and Prophets for their Progeny, and Magistrates also for the Government and Restrainment of them, it being the Will of God in those times to have his People ruled only by Paternal Power. Hence in the Decalogue *Moses* comprehends Princes *per Magistrates* in the name of Parents, and in the Old Testament almost every where Princes and Goverours are stiled Fathers, the Holy Ghost signifying that Princes ought to imbrace and tender their Subjects with the same Love and Care that Parents bear to their own Children, for as much as by Divine Institution all the Power of Princes flowed from Paternal Authority. From *Adam* to *Moses* we have descending a Power of Fathers over their Children, and Eldest Sons (except where by an extraordinary Providence the Case was altered) over their Brothers and the rest of the Family, in a continued Series for the Government of the Church established and approved by God, but of Equality or Colation in Government, neither any Precept nor Example.

A Select Tribe chosen to the Exercise of Holy things.

4. The Family of *Jacob* being grown into a Nation, that Domestick Discipline, as more agreeable to a Family than a Nation or Region, was abrogated; and out of Twelve Tribes one was chosen for the Exercise of Priesthood, and the Charge of all Holy things; wherein, according to the Number and Order of such Princes as descended from their common Progenitor *Levi*, God Ordained several Degrees and Dignities, for the Interpretation of the Law and the Service of the Altar, which Degrees were so regulated, that not only the *Levites* were under the *Priests*, but also of both sorts some were inferior and subject unto others. Of the *Levites* were Princes such as were Chief of the Families of *Gershon*, *Kohath*, and *Merari*, the three Sons of *Levi*, after whom followed other Fathers who directed their Brethren the *Levites* in their Ministerial Function, and whereof some were made Judges and Magistrates, as well elsewhere as in their own Cities, not only in the work of the Lord, but the Kings business also. And some of them were Assistants in the Great Council or *Synodrium* of *Hierusalem*, to the Princes of the Priests and Tribes. Amongst the Priests themselves the Prime Dignity remained in the High Priest, who by Divine Institution was Chief or Prince of the Princes of *Levi*, and was over the Chiefest Judges at *Hierusalem*, as well Priests as others, in the Lords business. Which Honour was given him, not because herein he was a Type of Christ, but because this Form of Government was fittest for the Jewish Church: For neither *Aaron* nor any of his Successors represented the Kingly Office of Christ; otherwise our Saviour had been a Priest after the Order of *Aaron*, as well as that of *Melchisedeck*, if *Aaron* as well as *Melchisedeck* had obtained as well the Dignity of King as Priest: but it is sufficiently clear, that the Scepter belonged to *Judah*, and not to *Levi*.

Who govern it with equal Power, but are of different Orders and Degrees.

5. To the High-Priest (who ever ought to be of the Family of *Eleazar* and *Phineas*) was adjoyned another, as his Second or Deputy out of the Progeny of *Ithamar* the other Son of *Aaron*, to whom were subject the *Gershonites* and *Merarites* in the Ministery of the Tabernacle. And from these two Roots as it were sprung those Four and Twenty (*a*) called Heads and Fathers of the Priests, amongst whom *David* caused Lots to be cast, that they might by turns serve in the House of the Lord. And as they were subject to the former two Princes or Heads, so had they others (*b*) subject to them, as well Priests as Levites, whose Service they used in the discharging of their Courses. Their number sometimes failed both by reason of frequent Exile, and the decay of Families; but in the Old Testament they were called (*c*) Fathers and Heads of the Priests, and in the New Chief Priests or Ἀρχιερεῖς. Of both sorts we said not only Priests but Levites were Judges appointed and Governours of Cities as well others as their own Forty eight. And many Causes of greatest moment were brought before them alone, or for the most part, as those concerning Leprosie, Jealousie, Secret Homicide, False Witness and the like, in which Matters the People and Magistrates were bound to consult and expect the Sentence of the Priests. But we must not forget that the most Doubtful Intricate and Weighty Matters were referred to the greatest and gravest Council or Sanhedrim, which being to sit by Gods Command at the place where the Ark of the Testimony abode, in the time of King *Jehoshaphat*, consisted of the Levites, Priests, and Heads of the Families of *Israel*, had *Amariah* the High Priest, Prince or Chief in all Matters of the Lord, and *Zebadiah* Prince of the House of *Judah*, chief in the Kings business.

(a) 1 *Chron.* 24.

(b) *Nehem.* 12.

(c) *Ibid.*

(d) *Mat.* 12. *v.* 16. *Mark* 11. *v.* 14.

This

This Sanhedrim thus Constituted in the time of *Jehoshaphat*, a Prince most observant of the Mosaical Law, was but a continuation of that great Council of Seventy Elders whom God Ordained as Assistants to *Moses* in the great Burthen of Government. Now although we shall not deny, that by reason of the peculiar Constitution of the Jewish Commonwealth under the Mosaical Law, no * necessary Consequence can be drawn from the diverse degrees of Priests and Levites, to the framing of the very same Polity in the Church of Christ, yet for Preservation of good Order, that the Pastors and Governours of Gods Flock may the better do their Duty, and not be found unworthy of their calling, either in respect of Depravity of Manners, or unsoundness of Opinion, the Wisdom of God that evidently appeareth in the Levitical Polity, is not lightly to be esteemed or rejected. For if in every well constituted Society Order is very necessary; and Confusion, of which God never is Author, is with all Industry to be shunned; we neither ought to inquire for, neither can we find a more excellent or perfect Pattern of Church Government (so far as time, place, and the Condition of Persons will bear) than what by God himself was settled and confirmed in the Church and Commonwealth of the *Jews*. And although that Government be not thoroughly known, neither is there necessity of being fully conformable to it, by reason of the many and various Differences and Disproportions betwixt that Commonwealth and the Christian Church, spread so far and wide amongst so many and various Nations; yet this is clear, that God would not have that Church governed by all the Priests and Levites qualified with equal Power and Authority, but that he subjected some to others, as well in the Sacred Function as the Civil Government, and that all sate not promiscuously in that great Sanhedrim of the Seventy Elders, but such only were chosen into that Assembly who were eminent for their Virtue, or Nobility of their Extraction. Hence it is evident from the Levitical Discipline, that the Government of the Church by Ministers of unequal and differing Orders and Degrees, is more agreeable to the Wisdom of God revealed in his word, than that which indifferently allows to Pastors equal, or one and the same Authority.

* *Vide eund. cap. 2.*

Subordinate to each other.

6. Whilst our Lord himself was upon Earth, although all Power in Heaven and Earth was given him, yet did he not manifest or challenge it till he was risen from the Dead, but the External Government of the Church he left to others, as not so proper to the Son of God as to Mortal Men. His Kingdom was not of this World, but Spiritual, exercising his Authority over all in the Power and Majesty of the Spirit, protecting and defending his Subjects against all outward and inward Enemies, and carrying on his work notwithstanding all Opposition, in an irresistible, though Secret and Spiritual way. The external Administration of Power, such as was convenient for the Peace, Order, and Decency of his Church, he delegated to those whom he made Leaders of his Flock and Stewards of his Houshold, upon the removal of his Corporal presence. Those were his Disciples of whom whilst yet he was upon Earth he made two Orders or Ranks, one of Apostles, being Twelve Messengers invested with chiefest Authority; another of Seventy Persons more in number, but with less Power, whom he sent before him to Preaeh in each City or Town whether he should come. They (not those) were his constant Followers and Domestick Attendants, heard all his Sermons, saw all his Works, being chosen for this purpose to be certain and Eye-witnesses to the World of his Doctrine, Miracles, Afflictions, Death and Resurrection. They and no others were at Table with him at his last Supper, heard the Prayers he made, received his comfortable and incouraging words, and the large Promises he made at parting. To them did he assign the whole World as a Province to Teach and Baptize; and those did he send as Ambassadors *à latere* not only to Preach the Heavenly Truth, and Found Churches throughout the World, but to direct and order in his Name and by his Authority, all the Faithful in all things concerning Faith and Manners; to prescribe Order in Government of his Church, and therein Establish what might be necessary for its Increase, Peace and Unity, for restraining the Rebellious and Refractory, Provision of Faithful Pastors, stopping the Mouths of gainsayers, and delivering up to Satan such as were incorrigible in Wickedness and Blasphemy. And for all those things they had most ample Gifts of the Spirit, and were indued with Power from on High.

Christ appoints his Apostles and the Elders in like manner.

7. In

7. In this manner of chuſing Diſciples and gathering the firſt beginnings of his Chriſtian Church, our Saviour ſeemeth to have reſpected the Jewiſh Polity, wherein Twelve Princes by Gods appointment were choſen out of the Tribes, one out of each, and afterwards Seventy Elders were joyned with the reſt in Council. By which diverſity both of number and degree, a difference appears clearly in the Dignity of Governours, both in the People of God and Chriſt's Church, and is evident in the promotion of *Matthias*, after the Treaſon and end of *Judas*, who was one of the Seventy. The Apoſtles had under them certain Diſciples, whom they ſtill took with them as well for eaſe as Company, and when they had been ſufficiently inſtructed, they partly ſent to plant other Churches, when they themſelves were called away into other places, ſometimes imployed in perfecting what was begun, reſtoring what was decayed, or otherwiſe as occaſion required: And for that they knew by reaſon of their conſtant Converſe the whole ſenſe and mind of the Apoſtles, they were appointed (as *Timothy* by St. *Paul*) to Ordain and Govern other Paſtors and Teachers, than whom they were therefore more eminent and of greater Dignity in the Church.

Nam qui provehitur de minori ad majus provehitur.

Par in parem non habet imperium.

8. The Apoſtles were all of the ſame † Dignity and Power, not one placed above another as to Authority. Their Lord forbad them all Ambitious Deſires, which before his Reſurrection they were not free from harping ſtill upon a ſplendid Temporal Dominion, as their Country-men do at this hour, which the *Meſſiah* ſhould enjoy. As he checked ſuch Imaginations, and denied them the uſe of the Temporal Sword, (which as he found ſo he left to the Magiſtrate,) he was ſo far from forbidding them the exerciſe of juſt Authority over others, that he placed them in Dignity above all others in his Church, neither forbad them to receive any Names or Titles of reſpect, but ambitiouſly to ſeek after and deſire them. Neither did he joyn in equal Authority any Presbytery or Society of inferior Paſtors for the Government of the Church, much leſs any Lay-perſons, an Invention that bears not the Date of One hundred and fifty years, and never was heard of till of late time in the Church of God, whatever is pretended. The Apoſtles were furniſhed with admirable Gifts of the Holy Ghoſt, but ſuch as were requiſite for the laying of ſuch conſiderable Foundations as thoſe of Chriſtianity; for converting the Incredulous that never had heard of *Chriſt*, and when they did, would be too apt to ſtumble at his Sufferings; for ſtrengthening the Faithful, who were but ſadly entertained by the unbelieving World; and for furniſhing ſo many Churches newly planted with careful and able Paſtors. The Church being ſettled, there was no neceſſity of the continuance of ſuch Miraculous Power. The Scripture is ſufficient in all Ages to declare the Truth; the Miracles then wrought give it ſufficient Teſtimony; the Authority of that firſt Commiſſion is ſtill continued by Succeſſion: The Abilities of Paſtors do not now appear on a ſudden, but ripen with time if they be induſtrious. Yet thoſe parts of Apoſtolical Office which lye in Teaching, Baptizing, Adminiſtring the Lords Supper, looſing and binding, laying on of Hands in the Ordination of Paſtors and Miniſters, theſe ſtill continue in the Church, and ſo muſt as long as the Church it ſelf continues. Theſe we may in fewer words diſtinguiſh into Doctrine and Diſcipline, Adminiſtration of the Word and Sacraments, and the Power of the Keys and Ordination.

† *Nam Apoſtoli omnes pari Conſortio præditi erant & poteſtate. Cyprian de unitate Eccleſiæ.*

Claves Regni cœlorum acceperant, & ſuper eos Eccleſiæ ſoliditate æquo fundata eſt. Hieronym. adverſus Jovinianum.

Vide Biſſenum ut ſupra c. 7. &c.

9. The former did belong indifferently to all Paſtors and Miniſters of the Church, Preaching the Word and Adminiſtring the Sacraments, was their general Office and Duty whilſt the Apoſtles yet lived, who reſerved Power of the Keys and Ordination to themſelves. Such they choſe at firſt for Paſtors and Teachers, as were for their Age and Gravity moſt capable of Reverence and Honour, in which reſpect they were called *Presbyters* (from which word is derived the French *Preſtres* and our *Prieſts*) or *Elders*. Afterwards ſuch Young Men as were of ſpecial Abilities were admitted, and yet retained the old Name which uſe had made Familiar. The Apoſtles themſelves are ſometimes called *Presbyters* or *Elders*, as (*a*) St. *Peter* taketh that Title upon him, and thoſe Presbyters from their inſpection or overſight are termed *Epiſcopi* or *Biſhops*, thoſe Names being (*b*) promiſcuouſly uſed at the firſt Plantation of Chriſtian Churches, which were governed by all thoſe Presbyters in common under the Apoſtles. But afterwards, as (*c*) St. *Hierome* writes, Factions and Parties being made by ſuch as training and Baptizing ſought to draw Diſciples after them, it was Decreed throughout the whole World, that for the removing of Schiſm and Diſſentions, one of thoſe Presbyters ſhould be choſen and ſet over the reſt, and him to whom the

(a) 1 *Pet.* 5.

(b) *Philip.* 1. *Tit.* 1. *Act.* 20.

(c) *Ad Evagrium & in Tit.*

Schiſms ariſe in the Church by reaſon of the Equality of Presbyters.

the whole Care of the Church should belong, they named (in a peculiar and eminent way) *Episcopus* or *Bishop*. Indeed the Apostles at their first Preaching of the Gospel, might not think it necessary to commit the Government of Churches unto *Bishops*, because the chief Authority of Imposition of Hands, and binding and loosing they would keep in their own Hands; and being by *Christ* himself made Universal Bishops and Overseers; as also because they would not commit so great a Charge to any, before they had had sufficient Experience of their Fidelity, Gravity, Prudence and Learning; and also lest they should seem rather to study the Honour and Preferment of their Disciples than the Conversion of Souls; therefore they suffered the Churches first to make trial of many Governours, from the equality of whom great Disturbance and Confusion arising, and they being called still away into other places by fresh Occasions, were necessarily constrained to set over each Church a Pastor of approved Fidelity, which willingly received him, having by sad Experience learnt what Disturbances Heresies and Schisms the Wickednesses and Discord of Teachers had produced, and how unfit the confused Rule and equal Power of Presbyters was to prevent or remove those Distempers. *Epiphanius.*

10. That those Factions and Dissentions spoken of by St. *Jerome* happened in the time of the Apostles, is evident from the Epistles written by St. *Paul* to the (*a*) *Corinthians*, (*b*) *Romans*, (*c*) *Galatians*, (*d*) *Philippians*, (*e*) *Colossians* and (*f*) *Thessalonians*, and the Writings of (*g*) others of the Apostles. And St. *Hierome* himself (though thought none of the greatest Friends of Episcopacy) bearetb witness in that he compareth the Polity of the Christian Church to that of the Jewish, and saith, the *Apostolical Traditions were taken from the Old Testament*, (h) *and what* Aaron *his Sons and the Levites were in the Temple, that may Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons challenge to themselves*; clearly hinting, that as in the Temple amongst Priests, so in the Church of Christ the Apostles made a difference betwixt Bishops and Presbyters; as he doth in another place plainly affirm, that (*i*) *the Safety of the Church hangs on the Dignity of a Chief Priest (or Bishop) to whom, if a free and eminent Power, after all the rest, be not granted, as many Schisms as Priests will be made in the Church.* Elsewhere, (*k*) *That afterwards one was chosen who should be set over the rest; a remedy was made in Schisms, least every one drawing to himself, should break the Church of Christ. Now at* Alexandria *from* Mark *the Evangelist unto* Heracles *and* Dionysius *the Bishops, the Presbyters ever named some one Bishop that was chosen from amongst themselves and placed in an higher degree.* Hence it appears plainly, that Episcopacy is of Apostolical Institution, which the several Successions of Bishops in several Sees before the death of St. *John* make evident; so that the Superiority in Bishops, which he saith was brought in rather by the Custom of the Church than Divine Disposition; rather respect such Customs as were afterwards brought in by Cannons (such were, that Presbyters could not Baptize without the Bishops Licence, nor Preach in his presence) at least if the Apostles had no express Command for it, as St. *Paul* (*l*) distinguisheth betwixt that and his own Opinion and Judgment in the matter of Virgins; yet must we not think (as the Apostle in modesty expresseth himself) that they had the Spirit of Christ, who would not doubtless leave them to a Fallible and Humane one, in a business of such Consequence, as the Government and well ordering of his Church.

(a) 1 *Cor.* 11.
(b) *Rom.* 16.
(c) *Gal.* 1. & 3.
(d) *Philip.* 3.
(e) *Coloss.* 2.
(f) 1 *Thess.* 4. 2 *Thess.* 2.
(g) 2 *Pet.* 2. 1 *John* 2. & 2 *John.*
(h) *Ad Evangelium.*
(i) *Adversus Lucif.*
(k) *ad Evagr.*
(l) 1 *Cor.* 7.

For prevention thereof Bishops are made.

Episcopacy of Apostolical Institution.

11. Such an Officer by the name of *Episcopus* or *Bishop*, was chosen after this manner: When a Bishop was dead, whose Church was furnished with many Presbyters fit to succeed him, the Bishops nearest to him of the same Province meeting together, agreed upon a day for an Election, which day they divulged both to the People and Clergy. At the day appointed both People and Clergy meeting in the Church, as many Bishops as possibly could be present (but without Three nothing could be done) gave their attendance on the Election, and took notice of such as the People and Clergy chose. If all or the greater part of any Sort or Order unanimously pitched upon one Person, he was declared Elect, and a day was named for his Consecration, his Name and the time of his Consecration being affixed to the Doors of the Church, with warning, that if any one would object any thing against the Party to be chosen, they should appear sufficiently furnished for such an Affair at such a time and place. At the second time of their meeting, such Bishops as assembled for Consecration and Imposition of Hands, if after diligent inquiry into the Manners of the Party, they found him such a one as the Apostle had described, they

Cypr. l. 1. ep. 4.

The manner of chusing or electing a Bishop.

Ordained him Pastor, and gave him a strict Charge in the presence of all the Multitude. If any Crime was objected, and proved against him, they judged him unworthy, and proceeded to the Election of some other whom both the Clergy and People did unanimously design to this Office. The Care of the Ancient Christians in choosing their Pastors was so remarkable to the Heathens themselves, that *Alexander Severus* the *Roman* Emperour is said by *Lampridius* to imitate it as that of the *Jews* in this manner: For when he would make any Governours of Provinces or Chief Commanders, he published their Names, desiring the People, that if any of them were guilty of any Crime, it might be evidently proved: And he said it was a sad thing that this should not be done in the Provinces which Christians and Jews practiced toward such of their Priests as were to be Ordained. *In Alex. Sev.*

12. But it happening that in certain places there were very few Clerks, or such as were not fit for such a Calling, in such a case they betook themselves to the Bishop of the Metropolis or Mother City of that Province, and of him they desired either such a Person as they themselves made choice of, or one whom he himself should commend to them. This way of looking after a Bishop was called *Postulation* as the other *Election*. At their Petition the Metropolitan having advised with that Bishop whose Clerk they chose, and called to him other Bishops (two at least) Examined and Consecrated him in like manner as the former, or some other, if just cause required, of more approved Integrity and Worth. For the restraining of the Factiousness of the People, and the Ambition of the Clergy, the Bishops of the same Province were commanded to be present, that they might take care lest Corruption, Ambition and Tumult prevailed. And for a curb to those Bishops, lest Hatred and private Favour should disturb or pervert the Work, the Metropolitan was to be made acquainted with the whole Proceeding before they could lay Hands on him: as if any one accused them as far more prone, and not indifferent as to the Parties concerned, it was proper to the Metropolitan to hinder their Attempts, and with the assent of the greater number of Bishops to hinder the Election, if, upon Examination, they saw it requisite. The *Nicene* Council, as to this Matter, Decreed, That *a Bishop should be Consecrated by all the Bishops of the same Province; at least, that Three should meet together and have the consent of the rest expressed by Letters before they should lay Hands on him. And that if any were Consecrated without the knowledge and Consent of the Metropolitan, he ought not to be owned as Bishop, and that upon dissent the Matter was to be decided by the major part.* *Of Postulation or calling for a Bishop.* *Conc. 4. & 6.*

13. From this most Antient of all General Councils, we must observe, that at that time there was a difference in Degree and Power amongst Bishops themselves, that an Inspection was given to some one over several others, that he was called *Metropolitan*, and the place of his Authority and Jurisdiction his *Province*: The *Metropolitan* was so named from the *Metropolis* or *Mother* City, so called either in respect of Colonies sent abroad, which owned her as their Mother, or by reason of Power and Preheminence over and above the adjoyning Cities. This difference and relation being betwixt such places long before the beginnings of the Christian Church, when it came to be Established, it found a necessity of modelling its Government according to the Secular Form. For long before Princes gave their Names to the Christian Profession, when the Church had no other means of distinguishing right from wrong, and Truth from Falshood, but only by Synods, or the Meetings of Religious and Prudent Pastors, there being no Christian Magistrate, but the Swords being imployed not for, but against the Faithful in many exquisite Persecutions; such Meetings were thought most convenient to be called by the Bishops of such Principal Cities or Metropolies, and for that some must necessarily præside in them as Moderators and Governours, they were thought most fit so to do, and by ancient Councils are called *Metropolitans*, as also *Archbishops*. After the Conversion of *Constantine*, when Princes never had owned and imbraced the formerly disputed and persecuted Name of Christians, they began to increase the number of Synods, and confirmed not only the Decrees of General Councils, but what was also resolved on in Provincial Meetings, as wholesome Remedies against Disorders both of Church and State. And as by their Edicts, which had the Power of Laws, they referred Ecclesiastical Causes to Ecclesiastical Judges; so did they take Care, that according to the Cannons, those Metropolitans should twice in a Year assemble the Bishops of their respective Provinces, and

A difference in Degree and Power amongst Bishops. *The Chief called Metropolitan who præsides over the rest in Church Matters.*

and in those Synods determine such Differences and Contests as had happened in Matters of Religion. In process of time business growing every day more large and intricate, and Bishops neither being able to defray the Charges of so frequent and great Journeys, nor being well spared from their Sees, there was necessity of reducing Provincial Synods to one yearly Meeting, and in the mean time of committing the Cognizance of such Matters as would bear no delay, would prove too tedious for the small time allowed to their meeting, to the Metropolitan of that Province where they arose.

The Original of Metropolitans.

14. Some think the Original of Metropolitans of as high a Date as the time of *Timothy* and *Titus*. That it was most Ancient, appears from the Cannons as well of the first *Nicene*, as other General Councils which speak of those kind of Governours, not as lately set up, but as ordinary Officers of the Church, and take care (*a*) every Metropolitan City retain its ancient Dignity. And such was the Government of the Church when persecuted: After that *Constantine* had vailed the Fasces and Eagle of the Empire to the Cross, and had quite changed the ancient Form of Subordinate Majestracy, the Form of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction was also much altered: as well in the changing of Cities for Metropolitan Power, as erecting of new sorts of Governours. The East felt the greatest force of this alteration, (though the extravagance of the Emperours especially say their *Roman* Æmulators,) but the West also found a necessity, though not in so large a measure, of conforming the Ecclesiastical way of Administration to that of the Civil. For another Form of Provinces being made, and other Cities Erected into Metropolis, to the Bishop of those newly upstart Cities was given the Title of Metropolitans, yet had they but the meer Title and place; no Metropolitical Authority or Jurisdiction, preceding their Colleagues of their several Provinces, and placed next to the Metropolitans, but subject to them as the rest of their Fellow Bishops. The Emperours might at their pleasure divide and multiply Provinces, which if the Bishops indeavoured to do, they incurred the pain of Deposition.

(a) Τὰ πρεσβεῖα σώζεσθω τῆς ἐκκλησίας, Can 6. Τῇ μητροπόλει σωιξομένου τῆς Οἰκείας ἀξιώματος, Can. 7.

Consule Cann. 12. & 17. *Concilii Chalced.*

15. It was considered that the Apostles and their Successors had delineated and assigned the Limits and Borders of Church Government, according to the Dignity and Order of the several Cities, and that the reason was now the same, if possibly an Alteration without great Inconvenience could be obtained; that the lesser Cities are dependent upon the greater, to which is dayly great Confluence upon the account of Traffick and publick Business; and much intercourse necessarily being betwixt the several Bishopricks and Parishes and Metropolitan Cities, it necessarily must follow, that there it is most convenient the Metropolitan should have his See, where was the Metropolis for Civil Matters, that the several inferiour Officers of his Province might have the more easie access to his Person: the force of which Consequence appears manifestly in this, that where Custom or a certain Veneration of particular Places or Persons has confined the Metropolitan See to some private City in the Province, yet is the Prelate necessitated to reside for the most part in the Civil Metropolis. To those Reasons as are most weighty, may be added that Honour and Esteem that all Christians have to the Person and Memory of *Constantine*. If the Apostles and Apostolical Persons imitated in their Church Polity the Method and Order of Heathen Persecutors, much more did it seem fitting and convenient to the Bishops, to follow the pattern of so Pious and deserving a Prince.

The place of his Residence.

16. Before this time therefore Bishops being set over several Cities, and Metropolitans, or Archbishops over Provinces: When as the Civil Dioceses were appointed, whereof each contained several Provinces, it was thought fit that over every Diocess should also one Bishop be appointed to govern the Archbishops, as the Archbishops did the Bishops. Where the *Presidents*, *Consolares*, and *Correctores* were, there sate the *Metropolitans*. And when the *Vicarii* were brought up and set over the Governours of Provinces, *Primates* were constituted in the Church to oversee Metropolitans and other inferiour Officers. The *Vicarius* was over several Provinces, so was the *Primate*; the *Vicars* Charge was called *Diœcesis*, so was that of a *Primate*. From the *Consulares* and *Presidents* of Provinces, there lay Appeal to the *Vicars*, so did there to the *Primates* from the *Metropolitans* or *Exarchs*. From the Sentence of *Vicars* lay Appeal to the *Præfecti Prætorio*; and so from the *Primates* and *Exarchs* to the *Patriarchs* hereafter to be spoken of. But that in imitation of the *Vicars*, the Office and Dignity of *Primates* was Instituted, seemeth to some most demonstrable from this, that before the time of

Primates Superior to Archbishops or Metropolitans.

Consulat Motinum Exercit. lib. 1. 19.

Constantine there are no Testimonies nor Footsteps of any Jurisdiction of those *Vicars*, neither in Ecclesiastical Writers any mention of *Primates*, *Enarchs* or *Dioceses* in this Sense: All Histories, Councils, that of *Nice* give only Priority of place to the Bishops of *Rome*; *Alexandria*, *Antioch*, and *Jerusalem* own no *Bishops* above *Metropolitans*, no *Dioceses* above *Provinces*, no *Diocesan Councils* above *Provincial*. But presently upon the Institution of the Vicars, and a distinction of their Dioceses from Provinces, there is most frequent mention made of *Enarchs*, *Primates*, *Dioceses*, and *Diocesan Councils* in Ecclesiastical Authors; so that the first *Constantinopolitan* Council speaks of them as already made and confirmed. These *Primates* were called *Primates Patriarchales*, but in a strict Sense are not to be confounded with *Patriarchs*.

Patriarchs chosen in the Church.

17. The *Jews* had their *Patriarchs*, to whom were subject all the Synagogues in the World, which so far owned their subjection, that they paid them Tribute, as appears from the (*a*) Code of *Theodosius*. This Tribute was called (*b*) *Apostole*, and such as gathered it *Apostoli*, whose Office it was to execute the Commands of these *Patriarchs*, the Original of whom is to be derived no higher than the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, and the Universal Captivity of that Nation. The *Montanists* it seems, in imitation of them, had also their Patriarch, as we learn from (*c*) St. *Jerom*, as some (*d*) observe from *Herodotus*, that the Heathen *Ægyptians* called their Chief Priest by that Name, of whom is to be understood that Saying of (*e*) *Hadrian* in *Vopiscus*, and neither of a Christian Patriarch nor the Jewish, as some would have it. The Christian was of much a later Date, though the Romanists from some forged Writings will needs have them Instituted and Seated by the Prince of the Apostles. If they speak by way of Anticipation, and will contend that such Sees as were first appointed by the Apostles, came to be afterwards Patriarchal; we shall not at all contend, that the Patriarchal Sees (though not as Patriarchal) were by Apostolical appointment. But the Patriarchs themselves were of a later Date than the first *Nicene* Council, no mention being made of them by any Christian Writer of Credit, till about or after the Death of *Constantine*. As for the Epistles of *Anacletus* Bishop of *Rome*, from whom the Cardinal Annalist, and others, would prove the Series of the first three Patriarchal Sees, and the Supremacy of the *Roman*; it and all the rest of the Epistles of the old Popes are Spurious, being unknown to the World before the Ninth Century, and then such were, as they are vented out of *Spain* into *Europe*, as (*f*) many have sufficiently evinced. Of as small Credit are the Councils held under them: And the Sixth Cannon of the *Nicene* Council, though it takes care for the Power and Precedence of those Bishops of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, conforming them to him of *Rome*; yet doth it not speak of them under the Name and Title of *Patriarchs*, but as *Metropolitans* or *Primates*.

(a) *C. Theod. l. ult. de Judæis.*
(b) *Vide Bertii Pithanon. l. 2. c. 1.*
(c) *Epist. 54.*
(d) *Baron. Ann. ad annum.* 111.
(e) *Ipse ille Patriarcha cùm Ægyptum veneret ab aliis serapidem adorare ab aliis cogitur Christum.*
(f) *Post alios fuse Blondellus in Pseudo Isidoro & Turriano vapulantibus.*

In Imitation of the *Præfecti Prætorio*.

18. *Patriarchs* therefore seem to have been so named and obeyed, in Imitation of the *Præfecti Prætorio*, though there be no full conformity as to their number, there being at first but Three of them, and Four of the later. The first Three were the Metropolitans of *Rome*, *Antioch* and *Alexandria*, the precise time of whose Promotion is not known. Afterwards the Metropolitan of *Constantinople* by the Decrees of the Councils of *Constantinople* and *Chalcedon* obtained that Dignity as most congruous to that Imperial Seat, which had the Title and (*a*) Priviledges of *New Rome*. After this the Bishop of *Jerusalem* was dignified with the same Title, who had anciently been graced with particular Respect and Honour, yet so that the Bishop of *Cæsarea* (so unwilling were the Ancient Fathers to change the Customs of the Church) retained all Rights and Priviledges of *Metropolitan*, which the *Nicene* Council also confirmed. But at length Favour prevailed for this most Ancient Church, which as a (*b*) Romanist observes, is stiled by *Theodoret*, *Mother of all Churches*, and by *Justine* the Emperour, *Mother of the Christian Name and Profession*; upon this account, that from Her all other Churches were diffused throughout the World. And after many endeavours used, this Honour was obtained for her, as we read in the Acts of the Council of *Chalcedon*, notwithstanding the violent resistance of *Leo* the Great, Bishop of *Rome*, who, as one says, alluding to the Speech of *Lysander*, and that Popes Name, to the Lyons skin sewed the Foxes, and omitted nothing that might hinder the Promotion of those two Sees; insomuch that some grounding their Opinion on a place in *Gulielmus Tyrius*, have thought that Dignity was not Established and Confirmed to *Jerusalem* before the Fifth Council in the time of *Justinian*.

Five in all.

(a) Τὰ τῆς νέας Ῥώμης πρεσβεῖα.
(b) *Betlerius Pith. Distr. 2. p. 150.*

19. Such

19. Such was the Polity of the Ancient Church, conformable as to place and Dignity with that of the State, then which a more Commodious could not be invented, both for preserving Peace, and safe to every Bishop his proper Jurisdiction. But we shall see how the Partition of Dioceses and Provinces agreed. As the *Roman* Empire was divided into two general Parts or Worlds (so (*a*) sometimes they stiled them) so was the Church distinguished generally into Eastern and Western. As in the East there were Seven Dioceses, and Six in the West, besides the Præfecture of *Rome*, in like manner the Church had of old its Fourteen Dioceses. Those of Eastern both Church and Empire were, first *Egypt*, the Provinces whereof, as also those of *Libya*, *Thebais* and *Pentapolis*, were subject to the Patriarch of *Alexandria*. 2. The East more particularly so called, subject to the Patriarch of *Antioch*. 3. *Asiana*, whose Provinces belonged first to the Primate of *Ephesus*, afterward to the *Constantinopolitan* Patriarch. 4. *Pontica* the Metropolis whereof was *Cæsarea*. 5. *Thracia*, which with its Provinces *Greece*, *Achaia*, and others, were under the Inspection anciently of the Bishop of *Thessalonica* as Primate of the Diocess, afterward subject to the Patriarch of *Constantinople*. 6. *Macedonia*. 7. *Dacia*.

The Church and State alike in its Government.

The Eastern Division of the Church.

(a) *Conspirant gemini fœnis communibus ab Claud. Gemini commercia mundi. Vide Berterium & Uthorpum contra Spalatensem Morinem in Exercitationib.*

20. In the West we also found Seven Dioceses. Hereof the first was the *Roman*, which contained the * *Suburbicarian Provinces*, subject in Civil Matters to the *Emperours Vicar*, in Ecclesiastical to the *Roman Patriarch*, and are in any wise to be distinguished from the Provinces of *Italy*, and were Ten in number: Three Islands, *Sicily*, *Corsica* and *Sardinia*, with Seven others in that Tract of *Italy* lying on the East and South, as 4. *Campania*, 5. *Tuscia*, 6. *Picenum Suburbicarium*, 7. *Apulia* and *Calabria*, 8. *Brutium*, 9. *Samnium*, and 10. *Valeria*, all which were subject to the *Roman* Patriarch, and Constituted his proper and peculiar Diocess, and extended no farther Westward than the River *Magra*, the limit of *Hetruria*, and that called *Asius* but *Esis* by *Pliny* and *Blondus*) not far from *Ancona*, which manifestly appears in that one part of *Picenum* is called *Picenum Suburbicarium*, and the other *Annonarium*; so that in that Country the *Suburbicarian* Provinces were terminated. The Second Diocess of the West, was the *Italian*, containing Seven other Provinces of *Italy*, *viz. Venetia* with *Istria*, *Æmilia*, *Liguria*, *Flaminia* with *Picenum Annonarium*, and *Rhætia Secunda*, all which in Civil things obeyed their Vicar, and in Ecclesiastical the Metropolitan of *Milaine*; in which respect this City is called by St. *Athanasius* the Metropolis of *Italy*, as *Rome* of the *Roman* Jurisdiction. The Third Diocess, the *African*, wherein sometime were numbered more than Two hundred Bishops and several Metropolitans, all which with their Provinces, were subject to the Bishop of *Carthage* as their Primate. The Fourth *Illyrium*, which formerly had its Primate and Provinces, but was afterwards subjected to the Patriarch of *Constantinople*. The Fifth *Gall*, which once owned *Augusta Treucrorum* or *Triers* for its Metropolis, and the Bishop of *Triers* for its *Primate*, but thence transferred the Dignity to *Arles*. The Sixth *Spains*, the Metropolis whereof *Hispalis* seems first to have been, but afterwards, together with the Royal Seat, the Dignity was transferred to *Toledo*. The Seventh *Brittains*, in the Plural number also, the Metropolis of which was anciently *York* as it is conjectured, where the Emperours, when in this Country, resided. But many agreed, this Honour was conferred on *Canterbury*, the Bishop whereof is Primate, or (to use the words of (*a*) *Malmsbury*, and the Gloss (*b*) of the Canon Law) *Patriarch* of the whole Diocess; and in a sober Expression *alterius orbis Papa*, Pope of another World. Thus was anciently the Church divided into Dioceses, according to the Form of the Empire, much altered in following Ages by Emperours and Councils, as we may see hereafter, especially by the *Roman* Patriarch after his Incroachment and Usurpation; so that the Marks of those ancient *Dioceses* are hardly to be found out, or the Footsteps of their *Patriarchs* and *Primates* not easily discovered.

The Western.

* *Nec obstat differentia à Morino inter urbicarias & Suburbicarias allegata.*

(a) *In Prolog. de gestis Angl. Pontif.*

(b) *Cap. cleros Distinct. 21.*

21. Thus we see the Church its Polity, in reference to the Division of Places under their several sorts of Prelates. Now must we consider their Power, and so descend to inferior Ministers. The *Patriarchs* Power was great in the Creation of *Metropolitans* and *Bishops*. From *Metropolitans* Appeal lay to his Tribunal; he appointed Judges, and took cognizance of their Causes, called Synods of his Diocess, and decided other great and weighty Affairs. Of all these Five the *Roman*, because of the Quality and Antiquity of the City, was first in Order, but in Dignity and Jurisdiction Collateral, not Superior. For the *Nicene* Council gives as much Power and Authority to him of *Alexandria* in

The Power of Patriarchs.

Consule Berterium ubi supra. Et Morinum.

in *Egypt*, *Lybia* and *Pentapolis*, as the *Roman* had over the *Suburbicarian* Provinces, and *Justinian* the Emperour ordained that the Bishop of *Justiniana Prima* in *Pannonia Secunda*, should have the same Right and Priviledges over the Bishops, subject to him, as the *Roman* Pope had over the Bishops within his jurisdiction; and on the *Patriarch* of *Constantinopole*, were conferred equal priviledges; as his City was advanced to the same Dignity with *Rome*, though the Elder in order præceded the Younger. As for the Titles given to the *Patriarch* of *Rome*, however Glorious they may seem to some, and to portend some Principality, Jurisdiction and Power over others, yet are found but common to him with others. Great are the Epithetes given to St. *Peter*, from whom his Holyness would derive his Pedigree; yet as great are given to St. *Paul*, his Colleague. "Is St. *Peter* called head of the Church? so are all "the (a) Apostles. Is he stiled *Pontifex* or Bishop of the Church? so is St. *Paul* of the "(b) whole World: Who hath also as good reason to be called (c) *Pilot*, and Governour of the whole World, as one Ship, (d) and *Pilot* of the Church stronger and more "solid then *Peter*; who was shaken grieviously by Temptation, both to deny and "dissemble. Had St. *Peter* the care and charge of the whole Church? so had (e) St. "*Paul* of the whole World, which to present unto God, so as it might be acceptable "to him was his great endeavour. If *Peter* be said to have had absolute and most "ample power over the Church, so had all the Apostles, as the Romanists themselves confess; (f) was *Peter* called Prince of the Apostles? so also was *Paul*. (g) All "the Apostles were (h) *Petræ* as well as he: St. *Paul* saith himself he was (i) nothing inferior to the chiefest Apostles. And therefore with good reason doth St. "*Cyprian* affirm that all the (k) Apostles were furnished with equal Consortship and "Authority.

That of *Rome* but equal, not superiour to the other four.

22. No Title of Honour was anciently given to the Bishop of *Rome*, but the same was also bestowed upon others. Is he called *Papa* or *Pope*, so is also (a) St. *Augustine*, and this Title was anciently common to all Bishops, as those indifferently conversant in Antiquity do know: But as the word *Tyrannus* was once (b) common to all Kings, but afterwards through the insolence of some particular Persons became proper to such whom the Modern signification doth most concern, so came this Title to be chalenged in after Ages, and yielded to the *Roman* Usurper; is he stiled *Pater Patrum* and *Episcopus Episcoporum*, which Honour (c) *Tertullian* grudgeth him; so is *Lupus* the Bishop of *Gall* by (d) *Sidonius*, as (e) *Magnericus* Bishop of *Triers*, *Culmen honorificum*, and *Patrum Pater Archsacerdos*. In general Councils (f) *John Bishop of Hierusalem*, (g) *Sergius* of *Constantinople*, By *Theodore Balsamon*, (h) *Marck Bishop of Alexandria* are called *Patres Patrum*, as indeed all not only *Patriarchs* but even *Arch-Bishops* and *Metropolitans*, because set over many *Bishops* are called both *Patres Patrum* and *Episcopi Episcoporum*. We grant the Bishop of *Rome* had not only the Dignity of *Patriarch* but is also stiled *Patriacharum Episcopus*, Bishop of *Patriarchs*; but so might in some sence, not only he, but all other *Patriarchs*; to whom *Metropolitans* were subject, who because they presided over many Bishops or Fathers; therefore were anciently called *Patriarchs*.

Their Titles of Honour the same.

23. He of *Rome* is stiled *Summus Sacerdos*, *Pontifex Maximus* and *Princeps Sacerdotum*: High Priest, greatest Pontifie and Prince of Priests; so is (a) St. *Athanasius* called Chief Priest of Chief Priests; (b) *Fælix* said to have overthrown the Government of Chief-Priest-hood; the Fathers in the Council of *Orleance* stiled (c) *Summi Antistites*, and others (d) elswhere *Pontifices in summo sacerdotio Constituti*, as the Bishop of *Antioch* and he of *Alexandria* is termed by (e) *Rabanus*, *Summus Episcopus*, *Princeps Episcoporum*, and *Pontifex Maximus*. By *Gelasius* every Bishop is called *Summus Sacerdos*, and in old Time that Title and the other of *Summus Pontifex* was ordinary and common, as that of *Princeps Sacerdotum* to a *Metropolitan*, order being taken in the (f) Council of *Carthage* that for the time to come, none should be called either *Princeps Sacerdotum* or *Summus Sacerdos*, but only the *Bishop of the first See*. Farther as he assumeth the Title of *Christs Vicar*, this is applyed by a (g) Father to all Bishops; if he be termed *Pillar of the Church* so is (h) *Athanasius* by *Nazianzen*, and all (i) Bishops by a Pope himself, as all Bishops and Preachers are called by *Gregory* the *Foundation of the Church*. He had the Name of *Head of the Church*, but St. *Athanasius* is also stiled by (k) *Basil head of all*; and is said by *Nazianzen*, to *have given Laws to the World*: *Venantius* the Poet giveth the Epithets of *Splendor*, *Apex fidei*, *caput Pontificum* to *Nicetius* of *Triers*. *Constantinople* is by *Chrysostome* called *Metropolis of the whole World*, by *Nicetas*, *Queen of Cities*, and by *Justinian*, *of all the Cities the Head*.

24. All

* *Vide Trilesacum de Sacr. Epist. author. c. 9.*

ἴσα πρεσβεῖα.

(a) *Beb. lib. 1. or Pontif. c. 11.*
(b) *Chrysost. hom. 2. in Tit.*
(c) *Idem hom. 25. in 2. ad corin.*
(d) *Idem hom. 2. ad* Roman.
(e) *Idem de præfect Evang. & hom. 1. de laud. Pauli.*
(f) *Beb. lib. 1. de Pontif. 11.*
(g) *Idem ibid. c. 27. v. Greg. 7. apud Stat.*
(h) *Origin. hom. 1. in Matth.*
(i) 2. *Cor.* 12. 11.
(k) *de unitate. Ecclesiæ.*

(a) *Heron epist. ad August. quæ est 3. inter Epist. Aug.*
(b) *Vide Partis Instit. primæ. Lib. 2. c. 2. §. 1. Paragr. 2.*
(c) *de pudic. lib. 1.*
(d) *L. b. Epist. 1.*
(e) *Venutius. lib. 3. c. 11.*
(f) *Sub Menua Act. 5.*
(g) *In gennali 6. Act. 13.*
(h) *L. 5. Resp.*
(i) *Evagrius L. 4. c. 11. Berter. Diat. 2. cap. 4. & Baron. ad ann. 533. num. 36. Cassidd. l. 9. Epist. 15.*

(a) *Nazianz. Orat. 22. ad Heron.*
(b) *Ambr. epist. 5. l. 1.*
(c) 1. *cap. 3.*
(d) *in Conc. Agath. can. 6.*
(e) *L. 1. de Just. cler.*
(f) *can. 26.*
(g) *Chrysost. hom. 7. in Matth.*
(h) *Orat. 18.*
(i) *Ep. 3.*
(k) *Epist. 52.*

24. All Bishops, as well as he, are termed (a) *Pastors of Christs Sheep*, (b) Athanasius *Governour of Gods House*, of whom *Nazianzen* Writes that the *Præfectship, or Government of the universal World, was intrusted with him*; St. Cyprian *Doctor of all Christians, and* (c) *Oracle of the universal Church*, and (d) *Successor of the Apostles*, as all Bishops are who were *seated in their places, throughout the World*, and received the Titles of (e) *Spouses of the Church*. He takes the Title of *Universal* or *Oecumenical Patriarch*, and so was stiled *John* of *Jerusalem* by the whole (f) *Constantinopolitan Synode*, as *Mennas* often by a (g) *General Council*, and by (h) *Justinian* the Emperour, so was *Sergius* Bishop of *Constantinople*, in the (i) *sixth general Council*; and *Tharasius* in the (k) Second held at *Nice*, and not only by the Bishops of the *East*, but by (l) *Hadrian* of *Rome* himself. To all Bishops indeed, (m) *care of the universal Church is committed* by *Christ*; as several Popes confess, and therefore by Argument drawn from the (n) greatest Champion of their Usurpation, they are *Universal Bishops* in a sober sense: But in any other, that one should have Jurisdiction and Authority over all the rest; neither the *Roman* nor any other can challenge that Title.

(a) *Cyprian l. 3. Ep. 15.*
(b) *Naz. Orat. 18.*
(c) *Spolat. de Rep. Eccles. l. 2. c. 7.*
(d) *Rabanus ubi suprà c. 4. & 5.*
(e) *Euarist. Ep. 2.*
(f) *Sub. Menna Act. 5.*
(g) *Act. 4. & alibi.*
(h) *Novel. 42*
(i) *Act. 13.*
(k) *Act. 3.*
(l) *Epist. ad Tharas. in Conc. Nicen. Act. 2.*
(m) *Johanni & Eleutherius in Epist.*
(n) *Bel. lib. 1. de Pontif. c. 31.*

25. Neither was he in most Ancient Times, accounted such an *Oracle of Faith*, as to be reckoned Master of *East* and *West*; as appeareth from St. *Cyprian*, who refused to be instructed by him; in the Case of Re-baptizing, from *Familianus* and the whole *Eastern* Church in the same cause, which call him *proud Fool* and a *Counterfit Christian*: From St. *Irenæus* and *Polycarpe* in the Controversie about *Easter*, who accuse him of rashness and perverseness; such an Oracle was he accounted by the *Africans* in the time of St. *Augustine*, when endeavouring to establish his Supremacy by the way of *Appeal* in those Provinces, he was branded by them with Pride and Fraud in Corrupting, and Perfidiousness in violating the *Nicene Cannons*. Such was the Infallibility esteemed, when *Liberius* was taxed for *Arianism*, *Vigilius* for *Nestorianism*, and *Honorius* for the Heresie of the *Monothelites*, by the whole Church; when *Hildebrand* for his Doctrine of deposing Kings, and absolving Subjects from their Allegiance, was by all good Men and several Councils esteemed a Violator of all Divine and Humane Laws, as Master of Perfidiousness and Perjury, a Tyrant and even Antichrist himself; when *Leo* the Tenth his opinion of his own Holyness, his Superiority above a Council, was censured as Heretical by all Orthodox Men, and for 1400. Years none had ever doubted of the contrary: What Authority he had in ancient Times, either in promoting or degrading his fellow *Patriarchs*, we may see clearly in the Case of the Patriarchate of *Constantinople*, which notwithstanding the utmost endeavours of *Leo*, was confirmed by a general Council; in that of *Meletius* Bishop of *Antioch* (an admirable Person if *Basil* may be believed) whom *Damasus* of *Rome* had by his Sentence deprived, which Sentence was rejected by the second general Council; and in that of *Athanasius*, who was not restored after his several Banishments and Persecutions by the Bishop of *Rome*, (as *Sozomen* falsly Writes of *Julius*) but by Imperial orders, and the judgment of the Council of *Sardis*; how great an esteem the ancient Fathers had for his Infallibility or Authority we find when *Cyprian* and *Formilian* being rebuked by *Stephen*, they reply upon him, as an arrogant Fool and a Counterfeit Christian; when the Eastern Bishops rebuked by *Julius* Excommunicate, deprive him, and by their Letters, signifie to all other Bishops that they neither admit him into Communion, Write to him, or receive any Letters from him: When *Dioscorus* the *Alexandrian* Patriarch, censured (and justly) by *Leo*, durst give sentence against, and Excommunicate him; when *Vigilius*, whilst Orthodox was Synodically Excommunicated by the African Bishops, and when he turned to be a Defender and Patron of the three Chapters, was condemned and Anathematized as an Heretick, by the fifth general Council: Infinite were examples in this kind. Well might the *Roman* Patriarch have precedence in order, as agreeable to the Dignity of the City, which though she was Queen of the Empire, yet could not create him any Title to one single (not to say a Triple) Crown.

His pretended Supremacy rejected by all.

Instances of their Coequal Power.

26. To (a) *Patriarchs* only, after the Emperours, was that Royal Ceremony of having Fire or Lights carried before them, an ancient Custom in the time of *Balsamon*, and taken first out of *Persia*. Other Ensigns of Honour they had, which became afterwards common to the *Metropolitans*, as Crosses, Palls, &c. Next to the Patriarch was the Primate, and although not in Dignity, yet in Power equal to him, if we believe (b) *Gratian*; but this opinion seemeth to have proceeded from the ambiguity and promiscuous use of the Words, which in this Controversie of Church Government hath begot strange Errors and Contentions,

Ensigns of Honour pay'd then to *Patriarchs*.

(a) *Balsam. in respons. ad Patriarch. privileg.*
(b) *Distinct. 99. De primat.*

as

as will be seen hereafter ; seeing there were other *Primates* besides the five *Patriarchs*, who owed some sort of obedience to them receiving , and performing their orders in assembling Councils and other business. And as these *Primates* were distinguished from *Patriarchs*, properly so called, so also Constituted a peculiar Degree and Dignity above other *Metropolitans* ; notwithstanding what some Object from an Epistle of Pope *Boniface*, that *two Provinces could not be subject to one and the same Person*: For not to make use of what might be objected against these Epistles ; this expression may well be admitted in this sence, that no one Person could so præside over two Provinces, as to exercise the Function of a *Metropolitan* in any other than his own Province: For when Primates were ordained any where, care was taken to preserve the Rights of *Metropolitans* inviolate, as appears from several examples. But though Presidents should fail in this Case, yet the nature of the thing doth evidently demonstrate it : For if the Primate should exercise the office proper to a *Metropolitan*, what need were there of a *Metropolitan* ? if a *Metropolitan* that of a Bishop in his Province , what need were there of a Bishop ? Therefore the Bishop his Paræcia is subject to him in a certain and peculiar manner , wherein it is not subject to a *Metropolitan*: The Cases of Visitation, Appeal, and others Canonical excepted, otherwise there would be Bishops, but all Bishops, Vicars, or Vicegerents only of *Metropolitans* ; but as St. *Cyprian* saith, there is one Bishoprick, whereof all are partakers in *Solidum* : So is a Province in so peculiar a manner, subject to a *Metropolitan*, as not to a *Primate*, except in Cases expressed in Law ; and whatsoever a *Metropolitan* may do in his Province, a *Primate* may not ; else there would be no *Metropolitans*, but all Vicegerents of *Primates*. And such is the ease of a *Patriarch*, in reference to that of *Primates* ; the several Rights Patriarchical, Exarchical, Metropolitical and Episcopal being distinct and several, whereof none could be justly invaded : The *Patriarch* in his own Paræcia exercise Episcopal jurisdiction ; visited those under him, assigned them Governours, and did other matters too long to be recited : In his own Province he had Metropolitical jurisdiction, not Episcopal ; in his Diocess Exarchical or that of a *Primate*, not Metropolitical nor Episcopal ; in his Patriarchate, he had Patriarchical, not Exarchical, Metropolitical or Episcopal.

Consulat Morinum Exer. 23. & 24. l. 1.

Patriarchical, Exarchical, Metropolitical, Episcopal Jurisdiction distinct.

27. To *Primates* therefore first, this is observed to have been due as a Priviledge to approve and confirm Bishops and *Metropolitans* Canonically Elected. Secondly, They examined and passed judgment on such matters as had been determined and judged in Provincial Synods. For from Provincial Synods, appeal lay to *Primates* ; and Thirdly, To them belonged the Celebration of *Diocesan* Councils, summed out of several Provinces , *Primates* having Authority, when they judged it convenient, to make such Assemblies. Fourthly, They were appointed as Watch-men in so many Watch-Towers ; and Overseers in the Name of the *Patriarch*, to inquire and observe, whether Ecclesiastical Discipline was diligently observed ; and affording, an helping and healing hand where it was wanted. Insomuch, that they had not only power of calling Synods of several Provinces , but in urgent Affairs, to send for Bishops out of divers Provinces, and with them to debate and settle Matters ; which was given to the Bishop of *Arles*, by ancient custom in the days of *Gregory* the Great, who defines twelve to be a compleat number of such Assistants. Fifthly, They gave Certificates of Letters, commendatory to all *Clerks*, *Metropolitans* and *Bishops*, travelling out of their Diocess ; by vertue whereof they might be received into Communion with other Churches : That those things were always and universally true cannot be said, but often or for the most part, and never just except the Authority of Princes was therein duly considered ; who, besides their undoubted right of being nursing Fathers to the Church, are owned by those * that would rather place that honour in the Bishop of *Rome*, as Author of new Sees in the time even of *Justinian*.

Idem ibid.

The Priviledge and power of Primates in the Church.

** Filesacus cum Demetrio Chomatero Balsamone & aliis l. de sacr. Epist. author. C. 7.*

28. It appears from the Preface to (*a*) one of the Emperours Constitutions, that this Power then resided in Princes, to change and make new Sees of *Metropolitans*, the Authority of whom, we are next to consider : of *Metropolitans* there were two sorts, in latter times, one, which was subject to the Primate, and another that acknowledged no Subjection ; such those Arch-Bishops accounted themselves, that were not subject to any Primate. And such were all the *Metropolitans* of *Africk*, who were called Primates, but never Exarchs ; as (*b*) one observes, as if this name was only proper to the Primates of Diocesses (not of Provinces) such as the Bishop of *Carthage*, who by (*c*) *Leo* the Ninth, is stiled *Maximus Africæ Metropolitanus, the greatest Metropolitan of Africk*: And yet (*d*) *Justinian* glories that he had set that Bishop over all *Africk*, and the same Person observes, that he

The Authority of Metropolitans.

Two Sorts of them.

(a) *Novel.* 11.

(b) *Berterius Pythan. Diatr.* 1.

(c) *Epist.* 4.

(d) *Novel.* 131.

he rather restored him to his Dignity, after the *Vandals* were expelled that Country, than bestowed any new honour on that See; so that if the other Bishops were subject to him, they must be subject to him not as a Patriarch, but a Primate, and therefore could not properly and strictly be stiled Primates themselves: However, if they owned no subjection to Primates, their Power though not their Dignity, was suitable to theirs. If under their inspection their jurisdiction was subordinate to theirs, as that of the Primates to the Patriarchs in matters of Synods, Appeals, and other matters, lyable to the cognizance of Superiours; they presiding in the manner and Governing those Arch-Bishops and Bishops, that were within the limits of their Metropolitical jurisdiction.

29. For in the *Greek* or *Eastern* Church, it's manifest that for some time there was a distinction betwixt Metropolitans and Arch-bishops, who Constituted a peculiar Rank or Order betwixt them and Bishops. And for that time the Arch-Bishop was within the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan: At length those Arch-Bishops were exempted from their power, and ordained by the Patriarch, as appears from *Balsamon* and the *Notitia* of Metropolitans and Arch-Bishops subject to the *Constantinopolitan* Patriarch, to whom *Innocent the Third* Bishop of *Rome*, after *Constantinople* was subjected to the *Latins* willingly ascribes that Office. But excepting this case of the *Greeks*, Arch-bishops were the same with Metropolitans, having the same power of Ordination, assembling Synods, and receiving Appeals within their respective Provinces, if in Priviledge and Authority they were really such; for we find that in the East towards the decay of the Empire, there were some called Arch-bishops, who had no jurisdictioon over other Bishops, meerly titular, and so named only because they had honour and præcedence before their fellow Bishops of the same Province.

Chalced. conc. can. 12. vide Morinum p. 77. & 217. Berterium pith. diatrib. 2. c. 3.

Titular Metropolitans.

30. The Power, Office, and Authority of a Bishop (wherein all those sorts agree) being in power and jurisdiction, not in order distinct from one another) is most weighty and considerable, most controverted, and of late impugned. At first the Presbyters as we said under the Apostles in common care and Council Governed the Church; but by degrees necessity of Peace and Order brought the Goverment upon one mans shoulders, though supported by the assistance of others; for what St. (a) *Cyprian* saith of after times, may well be applyed to the most Primitive, that thence *Heresies and Schisms arose, because Gods Priests was not obeyed, and some one was not thought of, who for a time should be Judge of the Church, in the room of Christ*; by which words he means not the Bishop of *Rome*, as some vainly imagine but himself.

The Power, Office and Authority of Bishops in the Church.

(a) *Lib. 1. Ep. 3*

31. The most certain note of difference betwixt Bishops and Presbyters, this became, that in every City were several or many Presbyters, but only one Bishop, except any by force intruded and made a Schism, or the Bishop by reason of Sickness or Age, was necessitated to have an assistant; who yet in his presence was of no Authority. Another note and a part of his power was imposition of hands upon Bishops and Presbyters, called Consecration and Ordination, which (b) St. *Jerome*, otherwise thought no friend, makes peculiar to him in the most Primitive times, although in his own, the Cannons had given much more authority to a Bishop, in this duty, the Presbyters present (at the Ordination of a Presbyter) as appeareth from the Fourth Carthaginian Council, were to lay their hands also on the Head of the Ordained, whilst the Bishop held his thereon, and blessed the Party, rather in testimony of their consent, than as partakers in the Office of Consecration, which the Church believed so proper to Bishops, that Presbyters of themselves could not perform, and therefore (c) declare such as was performed by them as null, nay although the (d) Bishop imposed his hands because a Presbyter read the words of Consecration; Sometimes it happened that a Bishop had (e) but one Presbyter under him, who might for just cause be removed elsewhere, yet that this Bishop having not a Presbyter left, might ordain others if he would, and if he could make none of his own, might have elswhere some to ordain according to the number he had lost: Whereby it appears that a Bishop though he had not a Presbyter at all to Celebrate the Office of Ordination with him, might alone by himself either ordain his own Clerks, or those procured from other places: All Laws Ecclesiastical and Civil, which have been made against the Corruptions in ordaining Priests and Deacons, speak in the singular number of one, not in the plural of many; as pointing at the Bishop as the Agent, who if any offence against the Cannons was committed, was ever punished; not the

Consecration and Ordination being peculiar to them.

(b) *Ad Evangrium Quid facit excepta Ordinatione Episcopus, quod Presbyter non facit.*

(c) *Athan. Apol. 2. in tit. Presb. Marit ad Canos & Philagr.*

(d) *Concil. Hispal. Can. 4.*

(e) *Vide Concil. African. c. 56. & Carthag. 3. c. 45.*

Presbyters who were not parties, but only Accessories or Witnesses to the Principal.

32. From the end of their Institution (which was to prevent Schisms, and establish Power and Peace in the Church) we may well gather, that besides the power of Ordination, they had the other Priviledges (and Tasks) by St. *Paul* conferred on *Timothy* and *Titus*, viz. Of examining, reproving and removing such Presbyters as were guilty of unsound Doctrine, and corrupt Manners; which were to continue till the coming of Christ, not ending with those two, and therefore if belonging to any as their Successors, certainly to Bishops, who præsiding in their several Churches, had Pastoral and Fatherly Power over both People and Presbyters under them, according to their Office: They had and have the Authority of the (*a*) Apostles in the Church, to bind and loose, else how could they punish and Constrain, and without punishment no awe, and without awe, none can preserve Peace and Order. Where they could not be themselves present, to Preach and Administer the Holy Sacraments, they provided for such places, fit and convenient Pastors, that they might be Rightly and Christianly instructed; took care lest any Heresies, Errors or Dissentions crept up amongst them; afforded them their Council in doubtful matters, their assistance in difficult, and without troubling the whole Province, put an end to their private Controversies and Contentions, excellent effects of Pastoral Care and Vigilancy. Besides those things that were connative with their Office, succeeding Ages for the same reasons thought fit to enlarge the Bounds of their Power and Priviledges; that all things might be done in Peace, Decency and in Order. Hence came it that by provision of Cannons and Custom of the Church, they had many other Prerogatives; as Reconciliation of Penitents, Confirmation and Imposition of hands on the Baptized, Dedication of Churches and the like: And so great was the power intrusted with them, that (*b*) no Presbyter could baptize without the Bishops License, nor Preach if he were present, in some places.

Other priviledges.

(a) *Greg. hom.* 26.

(b) *Hierom contra Lucif. & ad Nepotianum.*

33. Nay, as soon as Ecclesiastical Matters came to some Form, Regulation and Order, and the Government by Bishops Priests and Deacons established: Bishops within their own Diocess had the sole power of Holy Functions, and (although at the first beginning of Christianity, most things might be common to Presbyters and Bishops) Priests and Deacons might be added to them, to assist them, and be employed according to occasion, and their Abilities by their oversight and discretion; so that a Priest might not Baptize nor Adminster the Holy Communion, nor Teach nor interpret the Scriptures; *de loco Superiore Ecclesiæ*, as St. *Augustin* calls it, or *de Cathedra*, as St. *Ambrose*, as a διδάσκαλος or a Doctor (for so they were then called, that did it either of their own Authority as Bishops, or was allowed it as Priests, according to the Preaching now in use) without peculiar allowance of the Bishop of that Diocess. In many places Priests were not allowed to do it; it was not then thought to belong to them, but the task of the Bishop alone, because he in his Office representing more immediately Christ himself, was looked upon as him from whom Holy Offices were derived: Which made him so absolute in his Diocess, that it was accounted great Usurpation for any Man to challenge any power in Spirituals (as such) but under him, and by his deputation. By reason also of the insufficiency of every Priest, for such an imployment, as Preaching or Teaching by way of Authority (such as our Pulpit-preaching) which gave them the Title of διδάσκαλοι or Doctors as witnesseth (*a*) St. *Chrysostome*, who tells us, that *to preach the Gospel of Christ* (in this manner) *it's well if one or two may be found that are fit: But to baptize, any man that is a Priest*, and *therefore*, saith he *to this day we commit Baptizing* (which he only mentions, though much more did belong to a Priest, because St. *Paul* only mentions it in the place he explains) *to the weaker, but the business of Preaching or Teaching to them that are more Learned or Wise.* And *Balsamon* upon the Cannons affirms that to *teach the People* (in this manner) *was granted unto Bishops alone*, that *to teach the People of God, and interpret divine Decrees, was granted by the grace of the holy Spirit unto the Bishops only, and to them that are permitted and Authorized by them.*

Having the sole power of their Diocess, in Preaching and giving License so to do.

(a) *Ad 1 Corinth. c. 1.*

34. Both by *Sozomen* and *Socrates*, we are assured that in *Alexandria*, the Bishops only did Preach or Teach the People in this manner; and in the numerous *African* Churches, as witness both St. *Jerome* and St. *Augustin*, till *Valerius* his time (by whom *Augustin* was consecrated) Priests were not allowed to preach; this

this Office being accounted one of the Bishop his peculiar priviledges) at least not in the presence of their Diocesan: Nay, so strict was the Ancient times in preserving the absoluteness of a Bishop in his Diocess, that by some Cannons such Bishop was punished with Deposition, as presumed to preach in anothers Diocess, without Licence first obtained, much less could any Priest belonging to any other Bishop do it, who by the Canonical Laws, could not exercise his Function or Priesthood without approbation, to which were required Letters Commendatory from his Prelate; in those times Bishops whether at home or a broad, if no lawful impediment (as Age, indisposition of body, urgent occasions, publick business (strong enough to procure Dispensation) did hinder, thought themselves bound to preach every Sunday, and by some Cannons of Councils in some places were bound so to do; which Custom was much followed in the days of our Famous Queen *Elizabeth*, and especially by that (*a*) Jewel of *Salisbury* (one of the greatest Divines, and most pious Bishop that ever lived) who to the intreaties of his Friends, advising him to preach short and more seldom, that he might preach long, was wont to oppose that saying of (*b*) *Vespasian* altered and fitted to his own office, *Oportet Episcopum Concionantem mori.*

And punishable if without Licence of the Diocesan.

(a) *conveniunt rebus nomina sæpe suis.*

(b) *Oportet Imperatorem, stantem mori.*

35. But as Bishops, their proper work seemeth to be Government rather than preaching, and so much the Etymology of their name hinteth to us. Indeed being the Ministers of Christ in an especial manner, their office includes all universal Duties; which as the state of the Church requireth according to its necessities, are to be discharged by them, so that in times of Ignorance they ought to preach, and other whiles as others Comport, behave themselves in their general practice, not only acting themselves, but overseeing also others; directing and ruling Priests in their Ecclesiastical Functions: By which Acts they are chiefly distinguished from inferiour Ministers. Now besides these *Episcopi* or Bishops, there were *Choreipiscopi*, so called from the Country or Villages which they Governed. Their original is by some fetcht from Apostolical Institution, as if they were made as Successors to the Seventy Disciples, as Bishops are to the Apostles; but it's uncertain both what time they began, and when precisely they came to their period. *Gratiancites* (*a*) Pope *Damasus* telling the Bishops of *Africk*, that they were then forbidden throughout the World; but his Successor, *Nicolas* writes an Epistle to *Hosbaldus* as *Chorepiscopus*, so that *Sormandis* (*b*) the Jesuit with reason affirms both the Epistles of *Damasus* and *Leo* the first, concerning these *Chorepiscopi* to be spurious, and from Pope *Nicolas* in his Epistle to *Radulphus* quotes those words in imitation *of the seventy, Chorepiscopi were ordained, concerning whom, who can doubt but they had the Offices of Bishops?* *Gratian* assigns this difference betwixt them and Bishops, that Bishops could not be ordained but in Cities, but they in Villages; Bishops granted Letters called *Formatæ* or *Dimissoriæ* (by which one was exempted from the jurisdiction of his Bishop, which were wont to be given with great Solemnity) the *Chorepiscopi* could only grant Letters Commendatory (called also *pacificæ*, granted to Clerks travelling, whereby they were commended, that they might quietly execute their Office in other Dioceses) although the Gloss denies they could grant them, and makes them only proper to the Bishops, who also had the right of Consecration, whereas the *Chorepiscopi* could only confer the lesser orders. That pretended Epistle of *Leo*, reckons up Ten several things which belong to the Office of Bishops, the *Chorepiscopi* were not to meddle with. (*c*) *Filesacus* tells us that, a Bishop being ordained by Hereticks, if afterward he became Catholick, was made *Chorepiscopus*: But those sorts of Priests which we may call puny Bishops (being betwixt a Bishop and a Presbyter) grew out of use by degrees, and Rural (*d*) Deans came in their room (as it's said) but with a more restrained power.

Bishops govern as well as preach.

Chorepiscopi ordained.

(a) *Quem consule dist. 68. & 50. studeat.*

(b) *Antioch. 2. contra Patrum Aurelium.*

(c) *Ex conc. Regiensi in Gallia Narbonensi can. 3. tract. de orig. parœch. c. 2.*

(d) *vide moreusim in cucchi Just. Canon lib. tit. 3.*

The office of Presbyter, Priest or Curate.

36. The next in the order of this Hierarchy, was the Presbyter or Priest, who by direction and under the inspection of the Bishop, Celebrated Divine Service, Adminstred the Sacraments, and preached Gods Word; of all those the *Parœcus*, Parson or Parish Priest, is most considerable. *The rank of Curates* (the same with our Parsons, in French called *Curès*, *saith* Gerson, (*a*) *is the next in order to that of Bishops; it's manifest, in that the same Hierarchical duties are incumbent upon them as upon the other, although not in so excellent a degree: For it's their duty to Purifie those committed to their charge by conviction and reproof, to illuminate them by Teaching and Preaching, and to administer the Satraments; and they are bound, if occasion be, as well as Bishops, to lay down their life for their Sheep*

(a) *Patre. 3. de Concil. Evangel. & statu perfectionis.*

Sheep; so that when Christ sent abroad the Seventy Disciples, to whom succeed Curates, both according to the opinion of Divines and Lawyers, he committed in effect the same Charge to them as he did to the Apostles. Elsewhere (*b*) he writeth that *this rank of Curates was figured in the old Law by the Levites, that it was Instituted by Christ and his Apostles in the very beginning of the Church, which Institution became more evident by the Declarations of Popes, and as well General as Particular Councils.* So doth *Gerson* describe this sort of Ecclesiastical Ministers, and without any Partiality, although being Chancellor of the University of *Paris*, he was also *Curè* or Parish Priest of St. *John* in *Grave* in the same City, as his Learned Country-man *Filesacus* (*c*) engageth himself to evince.

(b) *De Statutis ecclesiasticis tit. de statu curatorum confid.* 1.

(c) *De Paræciarum Orig. c.* 4.

A *Parish Priest* described

37. He describes our *Paræcus* or Parish-Priest, to be *one assigned to some certain Churches, as having the oversight of a People, in behalf of which he officiates, which he is obliged to teach, and to Administer the Holy Sacraments, and who for so doing ought to be maintained by the Offerings of those that are committed to his charge.* Concerning their Original, he supposes certain Priests to have been Ordained at first by St. *Peter*, as the number of the Faithful increased in *Rome*, and from the Pontifical History of Pope *Damasus*, indeavoureth to prove that they were reduced to a certain number by *Cletus*, and he Prosecutes their History as well to other places as *Rome*, proving that in most antient times, Parishes in many Countries were Established. Here let our Reader take notice of the several sorts of Names by which this Priest is called. Sometimes *Paræcus* and *Parochus*, sometimes he is said to be a *Presbyter, Ordained or Instituted in a Parish or Church*, for by the Sixth Cannon of the First Council of *Chalcedon*, no Priest is to be Ordained, but to some certain Place or Church, which Law was indeed of force in the most Primitive times. At *Rome* it being sometimes requisite to have several Priests in one Church, over them all one was set, who was therefore called *Presbyter Cardinalis* or *Principal Priest*, which Title was not confined to the City, but given also to other Priests, whose charge lay in the Country. Sometime he is called *Presbyter* or *Priest* simply without any addition; other whiles he is understood by the word *Sacerdos*, sometimes stiled *Rector Ecclesiæ, Proprius Presbyter, Presbyter Parochianus, Presbyter Plebis*, and *Plebanus, Presbyter Parochitanus* and *Parrochialis, Clericus Paræcialis, Clericus Localis.* And, as in Councils he is distinguished by the name of *Presbyter* not seldom, as being more truly so than others under him, so is he called simply *Clericus*, as Principal or above other Clerks. In more late times we meet with the names of *Curio* and *Curatus*, not derived from the antient *Roman Curiones*, as some have imagined, seeing it was never heard of till those latter Ages, but from the care and sollicitude they ought to have for their Flocks; and it was first brought up by the Cannons of the *Gallican* Church. We in like manner have the word *Persona* or *Parson* peculiar to us in *England.* And it must not be omitted, that this same Priest is sometimes called *Presbyter* and *Clericus Diocesanus.*

Their Original.

Their several sorts of Names.

Curatus whence.

38. For in the antient Monuments of the Church, it is often found that the words *Diocesis* and *Paræcia* are promiscuously used. *Diocesis* sometimes signifies the same thing which we in the present Modern Sence call a Parish, although most commonly by it is meant a Territy of great Extent both in an Ecclesiastical and Civil Sense, as formerly we have observed. By *Paræcia* (rather to be written † *Paroecia*) at the beginning of Christian Religion, and not a few Ages after, was not meant a Society or Communion of Neighbours meeting at the same Church, but that which we call now a Diocess or a Bishoprick. *Filesacus* traces it down beyond the Nephews of *Charles* the Great, as far as *Arnulphus* the Emperour. This promiscuous use of Names which we find to be very frequent in the Hierarchy, is to be attributed partly to the extent of their signification, many being applicable to the same Person and thing in several respects, partly to the vicissitude of all Humane Affairs, wherein Language hath a very great share, nothing more depending upon the Fancy of the Vulgar: and partly to the Latitude of the Christian Church, which extending it self through all places and Countries, no wonder that it receives diversity of Terms, for we see particular Regions, though of the same Language in gross, yet have several Dialects and Idioms. Notwithstanding the promiscuous use of words, the things themselves are not so hard to be distinguished, but that their diversity may be discoursed

Diocesis and *Paræcia* what.

† *From the Greek* παροικία.

discovered by unprejudiced minds, although with that difficulty which ever accompanies matter remote, and of so large a distance.

39. At length we arrive at the lowest step of those Sacred Promotions, and that is the Office of a Deacon. To a Deacon it (*a*) belonged to assist the Bishop and Priest, and minister in all things concerning the Sacraments of Christ, to receive Offerings, and Preach (or read) the Gospel, the New Testament being delivered to him for this purpose. To him also belonged the Offices of Prayer, writing of the Names of such as were to be Ordained, Baptized, the Dead and Excommunicate. He was wont to exhort unto Prayer, and give notice in the Celebration of Divine Offices, give the usual Blessing, and publish the Festivals of the Church. Such was the Polity of the Antient Primitive Apostolick Church for the main, Ordained and Established by Christ's Apostles, circumstantiated according to the Exigence of Affairs, and that Liberty which our Saviour hath left to his Officers in Matters of Prudence, Decency and Order. And no other sorts of Orders dare we acknowledge of Divine Right; the (*b*) *Romanists* themselves confessing that the lesser sorts have no ground in Scripture. *Dionysius* who calls himself the *Areopagite* owneth only the Three Orders of Bishops, Priests and Deacons. The Cannons that go under the name of the Apostles, reckon but Five, of Bishops, Priests, Deacons, Readers and Chanters. The Master of the Sentences himself confesseth that the Church in succeeding times Ordained Sub-deacons and Acolythi, so that farther the Canonists for their number of Nine, nor the Divines for that of Seven, can bring any certain thing out of the best and purest Antiquity. But how these might come in, as also concerning the nature of their Offices, besides concerning the Original and Nature of other Dignities, which the Prudence of latter Ages thought fit to Establish, we shall speak upon occasion in their due and most proper place.

The Office of a Deacon in the Church.

(a) *Dist. 25. Perlectis.*

Dominus vobiscum pax vobiscum.

(b) *Forinus Jesuita cont. 26. n. 2.*

(c) *Lombard. 4. dist. 24. lit. I.*

40. But having given a prospect of this stately Primitive Building, it remains to shew, how in an Humane way it was maintained, how these Officers subsisted, what was the Sallary of these Spiritual Souldiers, and what strength the Secular Arm afforded to the Spiritual, in the erecting of its Authority and Power. At first all things were common amongst Christians, afterward this Community ceasing, when the cause was removed, this Custom was introduced, that all Contributions towards the Maintenance of the Ministry should be at the disposal of the Bishop. This being divided into Four parts, he himself had one, his Clergy another, the Third was distributed to the Poor, and the Fourth was reserved for the Repairing of Churches; those times of Persecution affording all sorts of Discouragements to needy Persons, and being so far from Contributing to the support of those Religious Edifices, that they rather were imployed in Burning the Temples and Worshippers together. At this time Priests were Arbitrarily sent into some certain place or Parish by the Bishop, whose Revenues and Work were not then so great, but that he could easily undergo the trouble of Inspection over his whole Diocess, insomuch that all Dues were paid to him, and by him to his Clergy; which Dues, if Credit may be given to an Arabick Cannon of the First *Nicene* Council, were Collected by the care of the *Chorepiscopus*.

The Sallary of the Spiritual Souldiers.

Beda lib. 1. c. 27.

41. After that Christianity was more diffused and settled, and that particular Churches were assigned to Residentiary Incumbents, a more certain way of Livelyhood was obtained, and the Maintenance of the Minister became the Burden of the Soil. When Kings once became Nursing Fathers and Queens Nursing Mothers to the Church, Bishops were presently provided of an ample and certain Revenue. Their Endowments consisted not in Tithes, but in good Temporal and Forable Land bestowed on them by Princes and other Benefactors. This appeareth out of the Code (*a*) where we find several Laws of *Constantine* the Great, and other Emperours, down to the time of *Justinian* himself, both for conferring of Lands upon the Church, and such Lands as should neither be Barren, nor burdened with Statute or other Debts of the Exchequer, as also for the preserving of Lands in such manner conferred: and if those Emperours had any occasion to change the Lands of the Church, they would ever (*b*) allow them such as should be of as good value or better. Parish Priests were maintained by Tithes which were paid even before the Reformation by *Constantine*, as appeareth from St. *Cyprian* (*c*) who adviseth the Clergy of his time, seeing they had

(a) *Lib. 1. de sacros. Eccles. & de Episc. & clericis tot. tit.*

(b) *Authent. de non alterand. hereditat. Eccles. &c.*

(c) *Epist. 66.*

had Tithes allotted for their Maintenance, that they should not withdraw themselves from the Service of God. The orderly assignment of Tithes to every Parish is ascribed to *Dionysius* Bishop of *Rome*, who in imitation of St. *Paul's* appointing Bishops in Cities, is said also to have made and distinguished Parishes about the Year 266, into such Form as now they retain. *Cod. lib.* 1.

42. Then forasmuch as it was necessary that the Spiritual Power should be strengthened and assisted by the Temporal, purity of Doctrine in the Church not always procuring goodness of Manners, that which to some is Religion, being to others no more than Faction, and Love being too cold to procure perfect Obedience, except it was backed by awe and fear; to Bishops was granted peculiar Jurisdiction by Christian Emperours, Those extended to Persons and Causes Ecclesiastical, such as touched the Soul and Conscience, and appertained to Charitable and Godly Uses: To the Laity also so far forth as it either concerned their Souls Health, or the external Government of the Church in things decent and comely; or as respected poor and miserable Persons, such as Widdows, Orphans, Captives, and suchlike helpless People, or where the Civil Magistrate could not be come by, or willfully delayed Judgment, in which Cases the Prelate was to discharge the Office both of an upright Judge and an Holy Bishop. Against Hereticks and those that disturbed the Peace of the Church, they had Power also granted, not only to confute them by Learning and rational Discourse, but also to suppress them by Authority. All which the Fourth Book of *Justinian's* Code doth sufficiently declare.

Jurisdiction in Ecclesiastical Affairs given to the Church.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

From the first Nicene *Council called by* Constantine, *to the Apostacy of* Julian.

The space of Thirty six Years.

1. CONstantine having delivered the Church from Persecution and other external Pressures, it began speedily to be more afflicted than usual by internal Evils. The pinching Cold of Adversity makes us keep close and unite together, nipping the Passions of Strife and Æmulation in their Blossoms, but in the Sunshine of Prosperity we separate our selves, and the evil Roots of Pride, Vain-glory, Hatred and Contention, then put forth and sprout amaine. One *Arius* gave the occasion to these Distempers, a Man born (for publick Mischief) as most Writers say in *Alexandria*, Educated at School in *Antioch*, where he attained a Competency of Humane Learning, and having by his good Parts grown into Fame for Philosophy, fell to the Study of Divinity. Thence furnished with competent Learning, he returned to *Alexandria*, where he so well behaved himself, that he was admitted to be a Deacon by *Peter* the Bishop, but joyned himself with the Disciples of *Meletius*, who had made a Separation from that Church, accusing the Bishop of Austerity, for not having received *Meletius* too readily to Communion after he had, for fear of Death, offered Incense to the Heathen Gods. After the Martyrdom of *Peter*, at his return to *Alexandria*, he was by *Achillas* his Successor, restored to Communion with them, and so continued till he was become one of the Presbyters there, and till *Achillas* died. He seemed then a Competitor with *Alexander* the following Bishop, and failing of his Expectation, grew discontented, and thence fell into the itch of disputing certain Principles of Religion, and hard Points (as Hereticks are observed to do) in the concourse of People.

Arius a discontented Heretick.

Niceph. l. 8. c. 9. Theodor. l. 1. c. 1. &c. Sozom. l. 1. c. 14. Epiphan. l. 2. Tom. 2. Her. 69. Soc. l. 1. c. 6.

Disputing about the *Trinity* gains several Proselytes.

2. Having the Advantage which so abstruse and high a Point as the Mystery of the *Trinity* affords, besides the Ignorance of the Times, and the easiness of Vulgar Spirits, he made such progress in his design, that he had soon gained Seven hundred Women, such as placed Sanctity in the Profession of Virginity, besides Seven Presbyters and Twelve Deacons, before *Alexander* the Bishop took any notice of it. At length *Miletius* having discovered it by the Poysoning of certain of his own Sect, *Alexander* by Preaching and Argument endeavoured to obviate the growing Mischief, wherein *Arius* found himself so concerned, that he fell into a Contest, and possessed the People with an Opinion that their Bishop maintained the Doctrine of *Sabellius*, so that *Alexander* was constrained to Assemble a Provincial Synod, as well to justifie himself from such unjust Aspersions, as to determine the Matter concerning *Arius*. But he managed the Affair with too much mildness, insomuch that the *Arians* were rather emboldened. For although the Synod determined against the *Arian* Tenets, and inhibited *Arius* from further publishing any such Opinions, yet, when they came to Subscribe, Ten Persons refused, as well as *Arius*, of which number Five were Presbyters, and as many Deacons: The Multitude was still for the newest Opinion, and was prejudiced much against the Truth by that Reverence which now it bore to the Person of *Arius*. For he had a smooth and flattering Tongue, was of a winning Behaviour, though serious Aspect, and indeed every way a goodly Person; a very prevalent means to procure respect (even *Cæteris imparibus*) from ordinary Capacities, especially those of the weaker Sex.

But is condemned by a Provincial Synod.

3. Now therefore he held and published these following Doctrines with more Resolution and Animosity. "First, That the Son of God is like unto God in "Name only, but not in Substance. Secondly, That the Father, Son, and Holy "Ghost, are not of the same Nature, Power and Majesty, inasmuch as the Father "alone is the Invisible God, and alone to be Worshipped; the Son may be called "God;

His Tenets.

Philastr. de hæres. Cassiod. trip. hist. lib. 1. c. 12. &c. Niceph. l. 8. c. 5. &c. Hieron. Aug. &c.

" God, but is a created God, being the Son of God by Adoption, and not by " Nature, for there was a time when he had no being at all. Thirdly, That yet " the Son of God was the first Creature that ever God made, and was made " of those things which have no existence, and is the most excellent of all " Creatures. Fourthly, That the Son of God is the Instrument of God his " Father; by whom he made all other Creatures, yet doth he not know his " Fathers Secrets, nor comprehend his Nature and Essence. Fifthly, That the " Son is not Infinite as his Father is, for when he lived in the World with " Men, he was not then in Heaven with his Father, and that his Kingdom shall " end with the World. Sixthly, That the Holy Ghost is a Creature, Created of " the Son of God, knowing neither the Secrets and Nature of the Father nor the " Son, being much Inferior in Nature and Dignity to them both, their Subject " and Servant.

He is Excommunicated.

4. *Arius* refusing to subscribe the Decrees of the *Alexandrian Synod*, and proceeding in the publication and owning of his Opinions, was with his Followers ejected from their several Benefices, and from Communion with the Church. Yet, as it happened in such cases, being esteemed Confessors for this their Suffering, and more esteemed by the Ignorant and prejudiced sort, was he so much flocked after, that Tumults arose, and several Outrages were committed, to the great Scandal of the Christian Faith. The Proceedings of the *Alexandrian Council* were now the general discourse of the Christian World. *Alexander* the Bishop, to prevent and avoid false Representations, was constrained by Letter to several Churches to make Relation of Particulars, which gained belief according to the Inclination of the Receivers; and still the *Arians* seemed to get ground. The Bishop then considering what influence Preaching hath upon the Multitude, and how the Pulpits were made to serve the Designs of Factions and Heretical Spirits, Humour, Passion, Ignorance, and all Distempers passing under the Vizard of Gods Word, he ordained that no Priest in *Alexandria* should Preach without especial License first obtained. This proved so efficacious a Counter-plot to their Devices, that *Arius* forsook his Post, and departed into *Palæstine*, where meeting with less opposition, he got opportunity to Preach and gather Companies together, as he and his Party had been accustomed.

Goes into *Palæstine*.

Applies himself to *Eusebius* Bishop of *Nicomedia*.

5. Yet were those of *Palæstine* so sensible of the good Effects of Order and Government, that they pressed *Arius* to submit to his Bishop, and return into Communion with him. But he not able to stoop so low, repairs to *Eusebius* Bishop of *Nicomedia*, his old Acquaintance when he studied at *Antioch*, who having heard his Tale, so far complies with him, as to repair to the Emperour, and misrepresent to him the Dealings of the Council of *Alexandria*. *Constantine* became so taken with *Eusebius*, that ever after he had much his Ear, and in Church Matters had great Application made to him. Thinking himself no mean Man, he writes to *Alexander*, advises him to pass by the matter concerning *Arius*, and receive him and his Followers again into Communion, other Churches he stirs up to resist the Proceedings of the *Alexandrian*, and strengthens the Hands of the *Meletians* in their Faction and Schism. By this means the business came to more Heat and Contention, and *Sylvester* Bishop of *Rome* much concerned himself in it; by his endeavours a General Council is appointed at *Alexandria*, over which præsided *Hosius* Bishop of *Corduba* in *Spain*. He taking *Nicomedia* in his way, where the Emperour then resided, received his Letters to *Alexander* and *Arius*, wherein one may perceive the Finger of *Eusebius*, so slight a matter they make of the Difference betwixt them two. But *Hosius*, notwithstanding his great Abilities and Endeavours, could do little good, the Council ending without any considerable Conclusion. Yet the several Cases of *Ischyras* and *Coluthus* are remarkable, of whom *Coluthus* a Priest, bearing himself as a Bishop, and *Ischyras* a Lay-person, as a Priest, was reduced into Order by the Fathers. The Heresie of *Sabellius* also, though formerly condemned, yet in those Parts having again got ground was now exploded, and for that he had confounded the Three Persons in the *Trinity*, taking away all distinction by means of this Synod, one ὐσία or Essence was said to be in the Blessed *Trinity*, and three ὑποστάσεις or Persons, from which Terms afterwards a great Controversie arose.

Upon which a General Council is summoned at *Alexandria*.

Athan. Apol. 2.

6. Little

Who do nothing in that Matter.

6. Little good proceeding from the Council of *Alexandria*, or any other means of Reconcilement, the Empire began to be generally infected with the Distemper of *Arianism*, so that against a Disease so Epidemical as this was like to prove, some Catholick Remedy was to be provided; such, an Universal or General Council out of the whole Empire seemed to be which *Constantine* at length resolved should be Summoned to *Nice*, a City of *Bithinia*, as most convenient for all Parts, by reason of its Scituation. Now in this respect was the Scene of Affairs happily changed. Formerly in great Fear and Secresie did the Bishops and others assemble to compose Differences sprung up in the Church; Great and Solemn Meetings would have given occasion of Jealousie and Cruelty to have been exercised upon so many Pastors so opportunely met at one time and place. Before those times Differences went not out of one City, or at the most out of a Province: now by reason of the Liberty of meeting together they extended themselves over the whole Empire; wherefore it was necessary that Councils (the usual remedy) should also be assembled from places at a farther distance.

Another Council at *Nice* in *Bithinia*.

Vide Paulum Venetum in Concilii Tridentini Hist.

7. Hereupon a Council of the whole Empire being Assembled, now by the (sole) Authority of the Prince, it had the Name of the Holy and Great Synod, and a little after was called the General and Oecumenical Council, though it were not Assembled from all parts of the Church, a considerable part whereof, even long before this time, having extended it self beyond the Limits of the *Roman Empire*, but because it was the Custom of those Ages to call the Emperour Lord of the whole habitable Earth, although the Tenth part of it was not subject to him. After this pattern were Councils called by the Successors of *Constantine*, upon all such urgent Occasions, as well after that the Empire was divided into Eastern and Western, as before, the Affairs thereof being still managed under a common name as well Secular as Ecclesiastical. But when the East came so to be divided from the West, that there remained no more Communion in the Soveraignty, as it happened after the promotion of *Charles the Great*, after that, the last was for the most part possessed by *Saracens*, and the West Cantonized into many Kingdoms and Signories, the name of an Oecumenical and Universal Council was no more derived from the *Roman Empire*, but amongst the *Græcians* from the Assembly of the *Five Patriarchs*, and in the more Western parts from the Unity and Communion of such Kingdoms and States as obeyed the Bishop of *Rome* in Causes Ecclesiastical. And the assembling of those for the most part, hath been not principally for the decision of Religious questions as formerly, but either to make War in the Holy Land, or to compose Schisms and Divisions in the Church of *Rome*, or for the ending of Controversies between the Bishops and Christian Princes. All which we shall see in their proper places.

Which is stiled a General Oecumenical Council.

8. Councils for about (*a*) Eight hundred years were called by Christian Emperours and Kings. Unto them first, and in the chief place were summoned Bishops, as the most proper Pastors and Rulers of the Church. After them (*b*) *Priests* or *Presbyters* had the next place sitting together with the *Bishops*, and giving their voices. *Deacons* were present also of old, but stood by with the rest of the People. In (*c*) the most antient times Christ and the Holy Ghost presiding, and Charity prevailing against all Heat and Passion, they advised and resolved without Ceremonies or Forms prescribed. Before the days of *Constantine*, there being a necessity to govern them with some order, that Bishop chiefest for Learning, or the greatness of his See, or for some other respect of eminency, had the charge to propose and guide the Action and collect the Voices. Afterward the Action was guided by those Princes or Magistrates that had called them together, who also were personally present, proposing, governing the Dispute, decreeing interlocutorily the occurring Differences, but leaving the Decision of the principal Point to the major part of Voices. *Constantine* so ordered Matters in this of *Nice* and others elsewhere, as will be seen upon occasion.

The Persons summoned who

(a) *Cusanus Omnia octo universalia Concilia per Imp. Congregata leguntur.*

(b) *Consule Filosacum de paroch. orig. p. 66. &c.*

(c) *Vide Paulum Venetum quo prius.*

9. Of old, sometime the Matter was so easie, that all was dispatched in one Meeting. Sometime by reason of the difficulty or multiplicity of business, there was necessity of making many Sessions in the same Council. But this was done without Ceremony, or with intention only to publish what was done before, or digested elsewhere, but that the opinion of every one might be understood, and the Colloquies, Discussions, Disputes, and whatsoever was done or spoken, was called *the Acts of the Council*. The Notaries appointed to Collect the Voices when a Bishop spoke and was not contradicted, wrote not his proper Name, but this *The*

The Management of Matters in Dispute.

Holy Synod saith; when many said the same thing, it was written *The Bishops acclaim, or affirm*, and the things so spoken, were taken for Decisions; if they spake in a contrary Sense, the contrary Opinions were noted with the Names of the Authors, and the Presidents pronounced. After the Division of the Empire, some marks of these ancient Councils yet remained in the West, many were celebrated in *France* and *Germany* under the Posterity of *Charles* the Great, and not a few in *Spain* under the *Gothick* Kings. At last the Bishop of *Rome* his Power prevailing, Princes were absolutely debarred from meddling in Church Matters, whereby the former sort of Councils grew out of use, and that alone remained which was called by Ecclesiastical Persons themselves, the Convocation of which Provincial Councils was almost wholly assumed by the *Pope*, who sent his Legates to preside wheresoever he heard that a Council was to be held.

Over all one presides.

10. At length he assumed to himself that Power which the *Roman* Emperours had formerly used to convocate a Council of the whole Empire, and preside himself if he were present, or in his absence to send Legates to be Presidents and govern the Action. The Prelates assembled, being freed from all fear of a Secular Prince by reason of many Indecencies which were multiplied as worldly respects increased, began to digest and order their Matters in private, that they might observe more decency in the publick Meeting. In process of time this became a Form, and in Councils beside the Sessions, they began to make Congregations of some Deputies to set in order such Matters as were to be treated of, which in the beginning, if many, were divided, and a proper Congregation assigned to every one. But all Indecencies being not hereby removed, because those that were absent having different Interests raised Difficulties in publick; besides the particular Congregations, they made a general one before the Session, where all were present, which according to the antient Rite, is the Conciliary Action, because the Session, every thing being done before, is but a pure Ceremony. But after an Age or two, National Interests being different, caused Dissentions amongst the Bishops of diverse Countries; whereupon those that came from far, being few, and judging it unreasonable to be outvoted by the neighbouring Prelates, who were more in number, to make the ballance equal, it was necessary that every Nation should assemble by it self, as formerly the Tribes in the *Roman Comitia*, and resolve according to the number of Voices, and that the general Decision should be Established, not by the Suffrages of particular Men, but by the Plurality of the Voices of the Nations. This course was observed in the Councils of *Constance* and *Basil*: which use, as it was good where the Government was Free, as it was when the World owned no *Pope*, so it ill befitted *Trent*, where they desired a Council subject to him.

11. But at *Nice* met Three hundred and eighteen Bishops from all parts of the Empire, amongst whom many carried about them the Trophies of their Christian Warfare, Scars all over their Bodies, and mutilation of Members. The Emperour with a short Speech opened the Council, and after general Admonitions commended Two things especially to their Care: the one was for Establishing one settled Practice in the Church in the Point of keeping *Easter*, and the other was concerning the *Arian* Doctrine, the principal cause of their meeting. The first was effected with little or no Contest, the Custom of the Western Churches being Established, and that of the *Asian* abolished by Decree of the Council and the Emperours Edict; although from the Acts of the Council now Extant, little appears concerning this Matter. The business about *Arius* held them long in Debate, who according to Summons appeared, and maintained his Opinions. The Dispute against him was chiefly managed by *Alexander* and *Athanasius* his Deacon, who charged him with such Tenets as he had formerly maintained at *Alexandria*. The Council examined his Book called *Thalia*, wherein were found so many of his Opinions, and such Wantonness (he being much suspected of Uncleanness, in his ordinary Conversation with Women, which he called his Virgins) that it was condemned by the Council and burnt by command of *Constantine*. But when the Fathers should come to establish the Orthodox Faith, after they had resolved against *Arius* his Heresie, it cost them some labour to invent what Terms were fit to express the co-equal Divinity of God the Son with his Father, so as no hole might be left for the *Arians* to creep out at. At length they resolved upon the Greek word ὁμοούσιος or *Consubstantial*, which they had observed to be much feared and avoided by the *Arians* from an Epistle of *Eusebius* Bishop of *Nicomedia* read in the Synod.

Easter settled.

Author vita Constant. c. 16, &c.

The Heresie of *Arius* condemned.

12. The

12. The *Arians* perceiving themselves foiled by the addition of this, thought to reinforce the charge, by putting in the word *Unbegotten*, with relation to the Father; as thence deducing by consequence, that the Son was made and Created. But the Fathers aware of their design, receiving this word added to it, that the Son was so *begotten, that he was not made*, by which their design was quite dashed; then was drawn up a Formulary of the Catholick Faith: whereof *Hosius*, who præsided in the Council, was Author, now called the *Nicene Creed*, and passed *June* 19. on *Saturday*. But in this Council, nothing appears to have been added to the *Apostles Creed*, concerning the *Holy Ghost*; which happened by reason that nothing was now urged against his Divinity by *Arius*; which course was formerly taken up by his Followers, and more privately before this had been practiced by him, it being very ready and in a manner consequential to him, who denied the Divinity of *Christ* to reject that of the *Holy Spirit*. Having happily finished the Affair concerning *Arius*, they settled the matter concerning *Easter*; and for that several Countrys observed several Customs and Calculations of time, it pleased the Synod to commit the charge of the Paschal Cycles to the Bishop of *Alexandria*, in giving notice of the time of Celebation, which was done every Year præceeding; seeing that the Letters concerning the time were wont to be published by the Deacons, on the day of the *Epiphany*, and by the Bishop of that City, to be sent up and down to the Churches of the West.

Athanat. Ep. ad solit. Soc. Lib. 1. c. 5 Leo. Ep. 64.

The *Nicene* Creed pass'd

13. Having for the better Calculation of time, Established the Golden Number, containing the period of Nineteen Years, they came to discuss the cause of *Meletius*, the Schismatical Bishop of *Lyco*, in the Province of *Alexandria*. This Man for Sacrificing to Idols, in the time of *Diocletian*, and other causes had been deprived of his Bishoprick by *Peter* the Metropolitan, who afterwards suffered Martyrdom; at which censure conceiving great indignation, he ceased not to rail against *Peter*, and his Successors, and made a separation from the Communion of the Church; continuing Schismatical with a multitude of Followers to this very time. The Synod now tell the Church of *Alexandria*, and their Brethren throughout *Egypt*, *Lybia* and *Pentapolis*, that they had dealt with him, with more clemency than he deserved; having decreed that he should remain in his own City without any Episcopal power, retaining only the bare, Name and Title of his Office and Dignity, and they resolved that the Clergy should submit wholly to *Alexander*, or else be deprived of their Spiritual Offices; being also to give place to those whom the Metropolitan had ordained: And because that by reason of this Schism *Meletius* had throughout *Egypt* at his pleasure made many Ordinations, the Synod by a Cannon forbid that in *Ægypt*, *Lybia* or *Pentapolis*, any should be ordained Bishop without the knowledge of the Metropolitan, (this being the ancient priviledge of the *Alexandrian* Church) as the Custom was observed towards the *Roman* Bishop.

Soc. l. 1. c. 6. & 9. ubi vide Epist. Synodicam.

Meletius punished.

Council. Nic. c. 6.

14. By this Council were framed Twenty Cannons in all, and no more are to be found in any good and certain Author: *Turrian* the Jesuit tells us of Eighty, which having found in the Arabick Tongue he Translated, and *Ruffinus* counts 22. But *Theodoret* affirms there were but 20. And whereas many things are cited by Writers of succeeding times, as from the *Nicene* Council, they rather are to be understood of the Acts, than the Cannons thereof, rather of passages which happened, not directly but accidentally, and recorded in Story, than of the solemn decrees of the Fathers; besides this being the first great and Oecumenical Council, all opinions were ambitious, from it to derive descent and pedigree; and the Acts afterwards coming to be lost and imbezeled, whether through the negligence of the Keepers thereof, or which is more likely, through the practice of Hereticks, who were unwilling to be upbraided with so urgent a Testimony; great latitude was given for pretenders to enlarge the number of the Cannons, and out of them to forge Arguments for the raising or upholding of their particular Sects and Opinions.

Lib. 1. c. 8.

(a) *Dist. 55. Siquis à Medicis.*

(b) In the Latin Cannons its *Medicis* by which both here and in the Imperial Laws, Chyrurgions are understood, not those Learned in the Theory of Physick.

15. The first of the Twenty received Cannons (*a*) deposeth such Clerks, as had voluntarily made themselves Eunuchs, and prohibits such to be ordained for the future; excepting such as either necessity of Cure, or of Force and Violence, had undergone Mutilation from (*b*) Phisitians, their imperious Lords, or Cruel and Barbarous Enemies. The Second taking notice, that many contrary to Rule, leapt out of the Font into the Episcopal Chair, or the Seat and Office of a Priest; having been but lately Catechized (*c*) or Instituted in the Christian Faith; strictly forbids such practice for the time to come, concluding from (*d*) Apostolical

The twenty Cannons of the first *Nicene* Council,

(c) *Dist. 48. quoniam multa*

(d) *1 Tim. 3.*

cal caution against a *Novice*, that a new Convert should both stand as a *Catechumenus* a convenient time, and a *Probationer* after Baptism. If in process of time such an one committed Scandal, and was Convicted by the Testimony of two or three Witnesses, he was to be deposed, as also any such that should Act contrary to this Cannon; which yet, afterwards was dispensed with, upon notable occasions for appeasing of Tumults, or when the extrordinary worth of a Person required it, as in the Case of St. *Ambrose* and *Nectarius*. The Third (*e*) forbids any Bishop, Priest or Deacon, or any Clerk whatsoever, to receive any Woman * as Inmate into his House, except it be his Mother, Grandmother, Sister or Aunt; in which, and such like Persons, suspicion may easily be declined. By which Cannon nothing was decreed against Marriage, that design being utterly dashed by the interposition and endeavours of *Paphnutius*, who dissuaded the Fathers from laying the unsupportable burthen of Cœlibate, upon the back of those whom God and his Church had left free. The Fourth (*f*) Cannon præscribes the manner of ordaining or Consecrating a Bishop, affirming the Action ought to be performed by all the Bishops of that Province, if possible, but if that may not be, three at least ought to meet for that purpose, bringing with them in Writing the consent of the rest, and the confirmation of every Province, was to belong to the Metropolitan.

(e) *Dist.* 32. *Interdixit.*

* *Subintroductam habere mulierem.*

(f) *Dist.* 94. *Episcopi ab omnibus.*

16. The Fifth Cannon (*a*) forbids those that are Excommunicated by some, to be received into Communion with others; but to redress such inconvenience as might rise from any Contention or Heat of any Bishop using this censure; "it seemed good to the Fathers to ordain that twice every Year a Council of "Bishops should be held in each Province, who urgently should examine if any "complained of such grievance, that such as appeared justly censured, might be held and esteemed as Excommunicated Persons by the rest, till such time as publickly, or by their own Bishop they were absolved. (*b*) One of those Annual Councils they thought fit should be held before Lent; that all grudges, if any there were, being laid aside, they might present themselves a Pure and Solemn Offering to Almighty God. The Second Meeting they thought fit should be about Autumn. Now this command concerning the rejecting of those by *all* that had been Excommunicated by *one* Bishop, was not out of consideration of the sole Jurisdiction of any particular Bishop, but of the Nature of the Censure, which the Church esteemed as a thing which ought to be of that great strength and influence that by whomsoever it was applied it might obtain universal Force.

(a) 11. *qu. Servetur ista sententia.*

(b) *Dist.* 18. *Habeatur suum concilium.*

17. The Sixth Cannon is of very extraordinary remark, as a great Eye-sore to certain Novelists, who seek all manner of ways to cover it by their Glosses and Expositions, as their adversaries on the other side, ever cast it in their Dish. It commands that the Ancient Custom be observed throughout *Ægypt*, *Lybia* and *Pentapolis*; so that the Bishop of *Alexandria*, have Power or Authority over all these, forasmuch as such was the manner or use of the *Roman* Bishop. In like manner at *Antioch*, and in the rest of the Provinces, say the Fathers, let every Church enjoy its own Dignity or Honour: However it's manifest, that if any be ordained without the consent and knowledge of his Metropolitan, this great and Holy Council judgeth that he ought not to be a Bishop. Indeed if two or three out of Animosity and Contention, shall contradict what is generally and rationally and Canonically agreed on, the most voices of Priests carry it; for Bishops themselves are so called. The Romanists jealous of their Great Bishops Honour and Authority, labour all ways possible to perswade their Readers that these words, *for such is the manner* (*Custom or use*) *of the* Roman *Bishops*, no way do imply any equally of Power or Jurisdiction bitwixt him and the other of *Alexandria*, some would make them an Argument of his Authority over the *Ægyptian* Churches, as if *such is the Custom of the* Roman *Bishop*, *was to be joyned* to those words *viz. over*, *or in the Churches of* Alexandria, Pentapolis, &c. And if this will not do, with other of the like sort, a *Latin* Edition, of those Cannons, is urged wherein it is read not. *Forasmuch as such is the Custom of the* Roman *Bishop*; but, *Forasmuch as this same is the Custom of the* Metropolitan *Bishop*. But their Adversaries scarcely think themsevles in Honour obliged to answer such slight and palpable Glosses; although they might oppose so many ancient *Latin* Copies, to an obscure pretended one of *Marcellus* a *Tridentine* Legate, not to mention the *Greek*. And as for the sence of the words, they say it is sufficiently evinced both by universal consent of purest Antiquity, and the Testimony of other Councils, especially that of the General Council of *Chalcedon*, which we shall scan in its proper place. Thus much at present we may observe, as a learned Man hath learnedly made out in a peculiar Treatise, that first Custom introduced the Rights and privi-

Dist. 65. *mos antiquus.*

Vide Annot. ad. Conc. Nic. Can. 6. *in editione Caranæ pag.* 102.

Priviledges of *Patriarchs* or *Metropolitans*: Secondly, Councils confirmed this Custom; and lastly Emperours who could not but approve of a near agreement and similitude, betwixt the Models of Church and State, Enacted and Confirmed it by their Imperial Authority and Laws.

Dr. Barier *De antiquâ Ecclesiæ Brit. libertate.* τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθη κράτειν.

18. The Fathers out of the same principle of keeping up Good and Ancient Customs, as sensible of the great Influence of change, further Enact by their Seventh (*a*) Cannon, that forasmuch as by ancient Custom and Tradition, Honour was given to *Ælia* or the Bishop of *Jerusalem*, he should consequently enjoy the said Honour, provided that the Dignity of the Metropolitan City be preserved. The Eighth (*b*) Cannon gives directions how *Novatians* which returned to the Catholick Church should be received, concluding, that if a Bishop came over to a Bishop, if he thought not fit to receive him as such, he should procure him a place either of a *Chorepiscopus* or a Priest, that he might assuredly have some Clerical Function, lest in one and the same City, there should be found two Bishops; this against two Bishops in one City was decreed with very good reason, to prevent the Contentions and Emulation, a Bishops Chair, no more then a Kings Throne, brooking Rivals, although the contrary practice may be found before this time; and St. *Augustin* as he himself confesseth (*c*) out of ignorance acted contrary to this Cannon, being both Consecrated before the Death of *Valerius*, and sitting with him in the same See. The Ninth (*d*) Cannon decrees that if any Priests were promoted without examination, after this confessed their Sins, and after confession yet had hands laid on them (by the Metropolitan and others to be made Bishops) such were not to be owned by the Ecclesiastical Order. The Tenth (*e*) near of kin to the former, doth Enact, that whether such Criminals were ordained ignorantly, or with the knowledge of Bishops contemptuously, they should be deposed.

(a) *Dist.* 65. *Quoniam mos. ubi vide glossam insulsam de Etymologia Eliæ & Hierosolymorum.*

(b) 9. 7. *Siqui.*

(c) *Ep.* 110

(d) *Dist.* 81. *Si qui sine examine.*

(e) *Dist.* 81. *quicunq; ex his. vide Glossam.*

19. The Eleventh Cannon, prescribes Rules of Penitence to such as fell through Frailty during the persecution of *Licinius*, allowing the Bishop to mitigate the Penance where he should find just occasion. The Twelfth Ordains that the Ancient Course be observed concerning an Excommunicate Person, that if any one dye, he be not defrauded of his *Viaticum*; but if any desperate Person should overlive the Communion, he was only to be admitted to Prayer; and the Bishops were to approve and judge of those dying Persons to whom the Communion was to be Adminstred. The Thirteenth Ordains concerning such *Catechumeni* as fell, that they should be for the space of three Years amongst such only as heard the Word, and afterwards should Pray with the *Catechumeni* who being but *Novices* or Probationers in Religion, were admitted to hear the Word, but excluded the Congregation at time of publick Prayers and Service. The Fourteenth Reforms a Custom crept into certain Places, of Deacons giving the Sacrament to Priests, and receiving it before the Bishops themselves, forbidding the like practice for the time to come, on pain of Deposition; and that Deacons sit amongst Presbyters. In the Fifteenth, the Fathers taking notice of Commotions and Tumults, which happened by reason of Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons, Fleeting and Changing from City to City, they inhibit this practice for the time to come, and require that an Offender be remanded to that Church wherein he was Ordained; and if this Decree be not sufficient, in their Sixteenth Cannon they enjoyn that such an one be Expelled and Constrained to return to his Church; which if he refuse obstinately to do, he is to be Excommunicated.

Caus. 26. *q.* 6. *De his qui.*

Dist. 93. *Prevenit ad sanct.*

7. *q.* 1. *Non oportet episcopum.*

7. 9. 1 *Si qui vero.*

20. The Holy and Oecumenical Synod in its Seventeenth Cannon (*a*) Decrees, that if any one should dare to Ordain any Clerk in his own Church, which belong to another Bishop, without the said Bishops assent, such Ordination should be void. The Eighteenth (*b*) forbids Usury to the Clergy, upon pain of Deposition. The Nineteenth (*c*) commands that such as returned to the Catholick Church, from the Heresie of the *Paulianists* and *Cataphrygians*, should be Re-baptized; as also such as were Clerks amongst them should be Re-ordained, but their she Deacons continue lay as they were. The Twentieth (*d*) Cannon containeth an Appendix to the Decree, concerning the Feast of *Easter*, by occasion of the *Quarta Decimarians*, or those who were for Celebrating this Feast on the Fourteenth Moon according to the Jewish Custom, and that of the Eastern Churches, and therefore taking no notice of the Resurrection at that time were wont to kneel at Prayer, as at other times not Festival, the Synod therefore Ordains that for Uniformity sake, on the Lords day, and in the days of *Pentecost*, all pray standing; for it is to be noted that to the Resurrection the Primitive Church had so chearful a regard, that not only at those times here mentioned, but also during

(a) *Dist.* 71. *si quis ausus fuerit.*

(b) *Caus.* 14. 9. 4. *Quoniam multi Clerici.*

(c) 1 *q.* 1. *Siquis confugerit.*

(d) *d.* 3. *quoniam sunt.*

during those Fifty Holy-days betwixt *Easter* and *Whitsontide*, no Man did so much as *de geniculis adorare*, Worship God or Pray on his knees. Those days, though now neglected, were then, when the memory of the Resurection, and the benefits thereof was more fresh, carefully observed, and *Tertullian* considering their number, takes notice that they were more than the Superstitious Heathen observed throughout the whole Year.

21. All things being concluded which the *Nicene Council* thought fit to Ordain, the Fathers came to Subscribe both the Cannons and the Creed. *Hosius* Bishop of *Corduba* was the first that Subscribed, not the Legates of *Silvester* Bishop of *Rome* viz. *Victor* and *Vincentius*, two Presbyters of that City. Seventeen yet are said to have refused being infected, it seems with the Principles of *Arius*, which when the Emperour understood, as highly affected with the conclusion of the Council, he declared he would Banish all refusers, whereupon Eleven of the Dissenters were frighted into a Subscription, of which Dissemblers *Eusebius* Bishop of *Nicomedia* was chief; so the Decrees being confirmed by Imperial Authority, the Council which had Assembled on the Eighteenth of the Calends of *July* (*June* the Fourteenth) was dissolved, on or about the Eighth of the Callends of *September* (*August 25th.*) having began and ended in the Twentieth Year of *Constantine*, the First of the 276, *Olympiad*, the 1078. Year of *Rome*: Of Christ 325. *Anicius Faustus Paulinus*, and *P. Pubilius Ceionius Falcanus Camænus* being Consuls.

Act Conc. Nic.

Subscribed first by *Hosius* Bishop of *Corduba* &c.

Ruffinus lib. 1. c. 5.

And confirmed by the Emperours Edict.

22. Besides *Hosius* who præsided at the Council, first Subscribed, and is not in the Acts at all taken notice of, as the Legate of the *Roman* Bishop, the most eminent of those *Nicene* Fathers was *Alexander* Patriarch or Metropolitan (the other Name being scarcely yet in use) of *Alexandria*, *Eustathius* of *Antioch* and *Macarius* of *Jerusalem*, all of them Famous for their Christian Faith, Courage and Sanctity: Amongst those Bishops which *Alexander* brought along with him, none were so Eminent; as *Potamon* Bishop of *Heraclæa* in *Ægypt*, and *Paphnutius*, one as good as many, who as he equalized the former in the loss of his (Right) Eye in the Persecution of *Maximinus*, so he went beyond him in the loss of his left Leg, and his Condemnation to the Mines. He is reported by *Ruffinus* to have been also Famous for Miracles, and in such Veneration with all good Men, that *Constantine* the Emperour, himself would often most kindly and familiarly imbrace him, and greedily kiss that empty place which had formerly held his Martyr'd Eye; and this is not the least of his Commendations that he stood up for the Liberty of Clergy-men, when some went about to have enslaved them under the Yoke of forced Continence; although *Cassiodorus*, *Epiphanius*, *Socrates*, *Sozomen* and *Nicephorus* most of them, if not all, Grave and approved Authors for but reporting one piece of History in Favour of Priests Marriages are spit upon and discarded with disgrace by certain Grandees of the contrary opinion. But *Espencæus* a Learned and Sober Writer defends their Authority about *Paphnutius*.

Socr. l. 1. c. 5. 8.

Lib. 1. c. 4.

Socr. lib. 1. c. 8.

Soz. lib. 1. c. 22.

Lib. de Continent.

23. As *Ægypt* affording such Bishops, made some amends to the Church, for that detriment is sustained through *Arius* a Clerk of the same Province; so in producing the most powerful Adversary that Arch-Heretick ever had, and one whom Patience and Magnanimitty, as well as Faith commend as a great Pattern to all Ages; it seemed to overballance the inconvenience, as no Country can be blamed for the Generation of a Poysonous and Venomous thing which carries not its Appology *viz.* a proper Antidote, in its own Bosom. This was *Athanasius* a Person who though he assisted at this Council, but in quality of *Alexander* his Deacon is yet to Act the most considerable part in this Troublesome and Tempestuous Scene, and for that purpose must needs change his Quality and dress succeeding *Alexander* the most Worthy Bishop of *Alexandria*, who about five Months after the conclusion of the Synod, changed this Life, and went to enjoy that Blessed Trinity which he had so Faithfully and Industruously defended. *Athanasius* was born at *Alexandria* about the Rising and Spreading of *Arius* his Tenets, being a Boy by consent of all Writers when *Alexander* was Bishop of that See; and when he was yet a Boy (but Twelve Years old, as *Baronius* guesseth) his Genius discovered it self, even then strongly bent to an Episcopal Demeanure, as appears by a remarkable passage.

The Birth place of *Athanasius*.

24. The Church of *Alexandria* had a Custom of keeping a Solemn Festival, and Thanksgiving on that day whereon *Peter* their Bishop had suffered Martyrdom; one day amongst the rest (the Anniversary that happened about that Age of *Athanasius*) after they were come from Church, as *Alexander* expecting certain of the best

Soc. lib. 1. c. 15. Sozom. l. 2. c. 16. Ruffin. l. 1. c. 14.

best Rank to Dine with him, by chance looked out at a Window, he espied certain Boys on the Sea shore, who as he thought were in their sport Baptizing one another, having called some of those that were present with him to behold the sight, he sent for the Boys, and asked them what they had been doing by the Sea-side, and when they being abashed and silent he urged them to speak, they told him that one of them there, *Athanasius*, as chief in their sport, had Baptized some of them who had not formerly been Initiated, and that he had made some of them Priests, others Deacons to assist him in that Service; having examined them before, and given them instructions how they ought to demean themselves for the future, and so they told him the whole Story: *Alexander* together with the Priests considering the substance of the Work, concluded the Baptized Boys were not to be Re-baptized, but adding what he thought further necessary to be done, he sent for their Parents, and charging them to Educate them for the Ministery, he especially took care of *Athanasius*, requiring he should be now and then brought to his presence, that he himself might take notice of his Proficiency in Learning He is said to have much profited at School, being well grounded in Grammar, Skilled in Philosophy, and Studied in the Law; but those he made but subservient to Divinity, in the Study, whereof having good assistance from many worthy Confessors, who could teach him the Practick part by their own example, as well as the Speculative by Arguments and Precepts; he gave such pregnant Proof of his Industry, that besides other Testimonies, he had the Books both of the Old and new Testament in Memory without book.

His proficiency in Learning.

25. *Alexander* finding *Athanasius* his Proficiency to have surmounted his expectation, took him into his own Family, and made him his *Amanuensis*, in which Imployment after he had continued some time, and made further Progress in his Studies, he took him into the Number of his *Deacons* at *Alexandria* and carried him along with him to the Council of *Nice*, where he assisted him in his Prosecution of *Arius*, when the Blasphemous Doctrines he had uttered at the Council of *Alexandria* were produced and ingaged against the Hereticks in a Solemn disputation published amongst his other Works: He was now grown in great esteem for his Abilities and Integrity amongst all those of the best and Orthodox Party, when *Alexander* dyed, who having more intimate knowledge of him than any other, is thought designed him his Successor; the good old Man lying at the point of Death, called for *Athanasius*, which one of that name hearing, and coming to him, he looked on him, and turned away his Face, and continuing still to call, at last said, *thou thinkest* Athanasius *to escape, but it shall not be*; which words whether he spoke Prophetically as some imagined, or as designing him to his Chair as others think he soon after Expired. *Alexander* being dead, *Athanasius* in a Provincial Council was chosen his Successor, not *Thæonas* and *Achillas*, as *Epiphanius* alone tells the Story. *I was*, saith Athanasius, *chosen by the whole City and Province of* Alexandria; *Bishops, Priests, and People assembled together, with Prayers to God, publick Acclamations, Exhortations, Intreaties; Perswasions yea Obtestations for several Days and Nights without rest either to themselves or me, not ceasing till they had prevailed with me to accept of their Choice.*

He is made a Deacon.

Vide Athan. Disput. cn t. Arian.

Athan. Apol. 2.

And upon *Alexanders* death Solemnly chosen his Successor.

26. In the beginning of the Government of *Athanasius*, was the Gospel Preached to the *Lower Indians*, by *Frumentius* a *Tyrian*, who when he was yet but a Boy, being carried thither by *Meropius* a Christian Philosopher, after his death (for he was Slain by the *Indians*) was entertained and preferred by that King, together with *Ædesius* his School-fellow, and for his great dexterity in managing publick business, had in a manner that whole Government put into his hands; having this opportunity he first procured Liberty for Christian Merchants to meet together and build Churches; afterward he himself returning into his own Country, first made a Journey to *Alexandria*, to move that Patriarch that some fit Person might be sent Bishop into *India*: *Athanasius* being lately Consecrated, thought none so fit as *Frumentius* himself, who being Ordained and sent thither, is said by his Preaching and Miracles to have Converted an infinite Number of that People, and there to have Founded a Church: Thus much in more words and with more Circumstances relateth *Ruffinus* * who saith he had the Relation from *Ædesius* the Companion of the said *Frumentius* and *Socrates* as much more, hath it from him, as also *Sozomen* and *Theodoret*; all of them moreover unite that about this same time were the *Iberians* converted to the Faith, by the religious Preaching, example, and Miraculous Acts of a certain Captive Christian Woman. *Ruffinus* saith he had it from *Bacarius* their King who came to *Constantinople*

The *Lower Indians* Converted.

And the *Iberians*.

* *L. 1 c. 9. Soc. L. 1. c. 15, Soz. lib. 2. c. 23. Theo. l. 1. c. 23.*

nople to desire of the Emperour that Priests might be sent to instruct his Nation, of whom he not only obtained what he came for, but was dignify'd with the Office also of *Comes Domesticorum*, and *Dux* or General of the Palestine Limit. *Baronius* thinks him the same that (a) *Ammianus* calls *Bacarius* or *Balarius* the *Iberian*, created by the Emperour *Comes Domesticorum*, and leader of the *Scutarii* and *Sagitarii*: But whereas that part of *Iberia* which lay toward the *Pontick* Sea, was long before Converted by the Preaching of *Clement* the *Roman* Bishop, driven thither by Persecution in the days of *Trajan*, those now Converted must be the *Lower Iberians* inhabiting those places near the Mountains of *Caucasus* and the *Caspian* Sea. Two things there were which of old mightily contributed occasions to the Conversion of Barbarous Nations, the one was the Wars against such People, who were often conquered by their Captives, that ceased not out of their Chains and Dungeons to Preach unto them: The other those tedious and exquisite Persecutions of Heathen Emperours, who forcing the Faithful ones to fly for shelter amongst fierce and Barbarous People, God stopped the Mouths of those *Lions* and *Tigers* who entertaining those Strangers, entertained Angels or the Messengers of glad Tidings for a reward; and though some Miscarried, and as a reward of their Sufferings, received the Crown of Martyrdom (such the Primitive Christians really accounted it) yet through designment of Almighty God, the Blood of the Martyrs still became the Seed of the Church.

(a) *Lib.* 31. *ad An.* 327.

27. But the Preferment of *Athanasius* vehemently disturbed the minds of the *Arians*, who knowing him a Person most likely of all others to ruin their Cause, left no Stone unstirred to remove him. *Eusebius* Bishop of *Nicomedia* especially, who by means of *Constantia* the Widdow of *Licinius*, and Sister of *Constantine*, had through his great Industry and Dissimulation, not only recovered the Emperours favour, but insinuated himself much into his good esteem; he often told him how unfit a Man *Athanasius* was for such a place, lessening him all ways possible, and when this would not take, resolved to tamper with the Bishop himself, and try whether he might not bring him about to his own Party, or at least persuade or fright him into such Actions as might weaken the Catholick Interest: He adviseth him by Letter to re-admit *Arius* and his Partisans into their Churches, or otherwise expect great inconveniencies to follow. When neither by intreaty nor threats he could move *Athanasius*, whose answer was, he could not receive into Communion such as had been held for Hereticks by the Council, and to this purpose enraged at the Repulse, animated by his Heretical Zeal, and confident upon the account of his interest in *Constantia*, and power with *Constantine*, he begins to patronize Disputes and Preaching against the determinations of the late Council, which that he might do with less censure of inconstancy and Knavery, he and his party never left till by indirect practices they got into their hands the Acts of the Council from him, to whose Fidelity the Emperour had committed them, and having Obliterated their Subscriptions, so ordered the matter, they deprived Posterity of any view of them, although concerning the matter of their Fact there was sufficient Testimony. And thus revived the *Arian* Schism, which though it seemed suppressed by the Council, yet revived, and so increased as almost to take away Schism or Division, the whole World, as one saith, admiring to see its self all turned *Arian*; those that continued Orthodox were counted Singular, and as *Elijah*, formerly esteemed themselves as *only* (b) *left*: Such contentions and horrid distractions so unexpectedly followed this and other Councils, that to some sober Persons all (c) Christianity seemed to be laid aside, and although of such Meetings there be very much use (d) in the Church of God, yet some very (e) Eminent Persons were so much disgusted as to conclude (at least) from the abuse, against the use and designment of them.

Arius the Heretick rejected by *Athanasius*.

Sozom. Lib. 2. *c.* 20.

(b) *Non sic ego solus sum idcirco minor est ratio fidei. Liberius Ep. Rom. ad Constant. Imp. Arianum.*

(c) *Dum alter alteri anathema esse Cæpit prope jam nemo Christi est. Nil erat nisi pugna in verbis, quæstio de novitatibus, de Authoritatibus quærela, de Studiis certamen, in consensu difficultas. Hilarius ad Constantinum. cæs.* (d) *Concilionum in Ecclesia Dei Saluberrimam authoritatem esse Aug. ep.* 118. (e) *Nazienz. Ep. ad procopis. ait se* φύγειν πάντα σύλλογον ἐπισκόπων, *quam nullius unquam Synodi bonum & Felicem Exitum vidisset præterea asserit non tam* λῆσιν κακῶν *quam* πρόσθηκλω *habuisse.*

28. But *Eusebius* knowing the Power of the Prince of most weight for the ballancing of any Party, feared lest *Athanasius*, should to begin with, and secure himself of the Emperours favour; he therefore with his Companions resolved to strike home and unbishop him if possible, having in vain tryed formerly to disgrace the Man, now they question his Title, and quarrel with his Election, as brought about by the Faction and Combination of a few Persons therein concerned, they Remonstrate to *Constantine*, that after the Death of *Alexander* fifty and four of the Suffragan Bishops being assembled to an Election, when they had upon their Oaths given their Votes for one Person, nevertheless Seven of the

Uppon which they endeavour to unbishop him.

the Number perfidiously separated from the rest, made choice of *Athanasius*, and Ordained him, upon which account many of the *Ægyptians*, both Clergy and Churches, altogether refused Communion with him; and they could not but in Duty further inform their Prince that he was Pragmatical, and Turbulent, occasioning Dissentions and Fomenting Divisions amongst the People.

29. *Athanasius* easily satisfied the Emperour, both that *Arius* who had been forbidden by the Council to return to *Alexandria*, and was the Arch-Hæretick, ought not to be received into Communion, and concerning those Accusations, having as it fortunately happened, sent two of his Presbyters to the Court to excuse his not waiting on the Emperour by reason of his more than Ordinary Employments at his first coming to the See, and to refel any objections that might be made against him. They so dexterously discharged what they had in Commission, as obtaining Audience they cleared all Doubts and Surmises, both as to the Bishops Legal Election, and his Personal Carriage and Deportment. This device of *Eusebius* not taking, he grew inraged at the success, and resolved if he could not ruin *Athanasius* at a distance from Court, he would make yet his Seat too hot for him, by kindling a Flame within his own Province. *Meletius* the Schismatick being favourably handled by the *Nicene Council* returned to his See at *Lycopolis* in *Ægypt*, and there not only Ordained *Arsenius* contrary to the Canons thereof, Bishop of the *Arsenitans* (which place he himself had formerly held) but being urged to Name his Successor, made choice of one *John* his familiar Friend, to Succeed him: This begetting a Contention, for so much as the Jurisdiction of the Metropolitan was thereby much infringed, the *Arians* observing their opportunity, strike in withthe *Meletians*, and under their Name and Pretences, resolve to try the utmost with *Athanasius*.

And make Disturbances in the Province of *Alexandria*.

Soz. Lib. 2. c. 21.

Athan. Apol. 2. Soz. lib. 2. c. 20. Soc. l. 1. c. 3.

30. The *Meletians* therefore seeking Patronage of their Schism from the Emperour, as *Epiphanius* Writes, sent to him *John Calinicus* and *Ischyras* formerly mentioned (the one a *Meletian* Bishop, and the other made again as good as a Priest) to obtain a Toleration, and being barred of Access, betook themselves to *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*; He making advantage hereof, undertook their Patronage under condition of their receiving *Arius* into their Communion; and not only procured them Audience but a Licence for their Separation, which *Baronius* denies, affirming that *Epiphanius* had this story from some Writer that favoured the *Meletians*, alledging that *Constantine* is cleared of this Calumny, by his Letters to *Athanasius*, and the Testimony of *Eusebius* (a Writer in the Cardinals judgment prone enough to the *Arian* Heresie) who witnesseth that he after the Council, did his endeavour to preserve the Authority of the Canons, and laboured to Compose those Dissentions in the Churches of *Ægypt*. To be sure this is agreed on all hands, *Athanasius* went about to bring the *Meletians* to the observation of the *Nicene Canons*, which they again resisting, *Eusebius* and the rest of the *Arians* struck in with the Schismaticks and Levelled all their Engines against *Athanasius*.

31. *Eusebius* and *Thæognis* laying their heads together, assume as Associates and Councellors in the attempt, their old Companions *Maris* Bishop of *Chalcedon* and *Valens* and *Ursatius* Bishops in *Pannonia*, formerly condemned by the Council. Those five present the Articles of the Schismaticks against *Athanasius*, "wherein is objected that he is the great Cause and Fomenter of the troubles "in the *Ægyptian* Church. That like a false Traitor he endeavoured a Collection "in *Ægypt*, Levying Money, and therewith supplying *Philumenius*, who attempted the imbroyling of that Country in Sedition and Tumults; and that he "oppressed the People of *Ægypt*, exacting of them Linnen Cloaths or "Vestments for the Church of *Alexandria*. His two Presbyters then lying at *Constantinople* easily refelled the objection concerning this Tribute of Linnen, supposed to be exacted by him, shewing that this was no new thing (as indeed there are many Examples) to require Linnen for the Ornament of Churches. But judging it most safe Personally to appear and make his Defence himself, he hasted to Court, and presenting himself to the Emperour, so plainly and clearly evinced those Articles of Forgery, that he was dismissed with great Countenance and Respect, and with Letters Testimonial and Commendatory to the *Alexandrian* Church; all the Members whereof, are severely injoyned to receive and own him as their True, Loyal, and Pious Metropolitan. Some say the Emperour was so inraged at the double dealing of *Eusebius* and *Theognis*, his Associate, that remembring how upon refusal to Subscribe they had been Sentenced and

Several Articles against *Athanasius* presented to the Emperour by the Schismaticks

Which being cleared.

Eusebius and the rest are banished.

afterward Singing a Palinody at his Intercession, were freed from the danger of Exile, now in detestation both of their Relaps and Malice he caused to be Executed on them the former dieræ of Banishment, and *Amphion* and *Chirostus* were Substituted in their Places.

Theod. l. 1. c. 20. Athan. Apol. 2.. Socr. l. 1. c. 27.

32. However their Banishment was not long, being within a Year or two recalled, by the intercession of *Constantia* as (*a*) *Baronius* thinks, though other Chronologers place her Death Four Years before, (*A. D.* 327.) which Lady at her last Funeral earnestly Commended her *Arian* Chaplain to her Brother, who by this means had notable opportunities to serve both the Person and Cause of *Eusebius*. Being recalled a little after the Dedication of the New City of *Constantinople*, they found new Matter wherewith to Charge *Athanasius*. *Ischyras* the pretended Priest whom *Coluthus* the pretended Bishop had Ordained, being found lurking about *Meotis*, where he acted the part of a true Minister; *Athanasius* had sent *Macarius*, one of his Presbyters who defended his Cause stoutly at *Constantinople*, to bring him to his presence, who finding *Ischyras* sick in Bed, left only word with the Father that he had been there, whom he advised to Council his Son not to intermeddle any more with the Ministerial Function till he had spoken with the Metropolitan. *Ischyras* finding he could not continue there, betook himself to *Eusebius* to whom he complained, that being a Priest he had been outragiously abused and wronged by *Athanasius*, his Church by him be-
" ing Villified and Prophaned, his Alter overthrown, his Chalice broken in pieces,
" his Bible burnt, and himself threatned with Censures and Persecution. *Eusebius*
" having this advantage, as he thought against the Bishop, yet thought good to add greater Calumnies both that somthing might be sure to stick according to the * Proverb, and that they might not utterly lose the Emperour upon whom they had several times imposed with their devised Fables.

Being recall'd they charge him with new matter.

(a) *Ad An.* 331.

(b) *Jacobus Capellus hist. Eccles. cent. quinq; ad A.D.* 327.

Socr. lib. 1. c. 20. Sozom. l. 2. c. 22.

* *Fortiter calumniari ut aliquid hæreat.*

33. To the other therefore about *Ischyras*, they joyn the most impudent Calumny of all others, accusing him of having Murdered *Arsenius* a Bishop of the *Meletian* Faction: Whom that the device might take, they hid in a secret place, and produced a Mans Hand, which as barbarously cut from the dead Body of *Arsenius*, they shewed to the People. But their sport was partly spoiled by the Confession of *Ischyras*, who being sharply reprehended by some honest Men, confessed the Forgery about *Macarius*, and the Emperour was quickly satisfied that it was a trick, yet as to the business of *Arsenius*, he wrote to *Dalmatius* to enquire about it, one that then was *Censor* at *Antioch*, forasmuch as he was bound to take notice of any Complaints concerning the violent death of his Subjects. This was the same Year that *Macarius* the Bishop of *Jerusalem* dyed, after he had sitten in that See Nineteen Years, whose Memory is Celebrated by the *Roman* Church, on the Tenth of *March*. He Succeeded *Maximus*, whom he had not long before Ordained Bishop of *Diospolis*; but the People of *Jerusalem* would not suffer there to settle, but reserved him as a Successor to *Macarius*, who knowing to be an earnest Defender of the Conclusions of the *Nicene* Council, and fearing some of the *Arian* Faction might get into his Chair, willingly acquiesced in their Choice. That *Diospolis* was a City of *Palæstine*, in the Tribe of *Ephraim*, formerly called *Lydda*, which Name it changed when it grew Famous for the Idol of *Jupiter* there Worshipped; in after times was more taken notice of for a Council there held against *Pelagius*, and by reason that St. *George* the Martyr who suffer'd under the Persecution of *Diocletian*, the English Patron who had large Possessions in this Country, was here Buried, it was by the Christians dwelling thereabouts, called St. *Georges* by way of Consecration to his Memory.

And add thereto Murder.

Jacobus de vitriaci Hist. Hierosol. c. 57. Dr. Heylin.

34. *Athanasius* being warned from *Dalmatius* to provide for his Tryal, so Industriously ordered the Matter, that pursuing him from place to place, by good espials at length he was detected at *Tyrus*, and though he denied himself, yet being brought before *Paul* the Bishop of the place, was forced to confess himself the same Man, and how he had been wrought upon by *Eusebius*. The Emperour being hereof certified by *Macarius* a Priest whom *Athanasius* had dispatched to the Court for this purpose, commanded *Dalmatius* to desist from any further Prosecution, and rejecting his Accusers, by very obliging Letters detested these Calumnies raised against him which wrought this effect, that both *Arsenius* and *John* the late Ordained *Meletian* Bishop confessed their fault to *Athanasius*, begged his pardon, and were reconciled to the Catholick Church. And so as *Athanasius* tells us, the Conspiracy of the *Meletians* here had its period. But the *Arians* still considering what an Adversary their Cause had of *Athanasius*, and how much

Athan. Apol. 2.

But their Villanies are detected.

much Credit they had lost by receiving the foil so many times, would not here give over, but lest they should be deprived of so fit an Instrument as *John* was, brought him about again to their Party. Then do they afresh sollicit the Emperour, telling him of fresh Complaints dayly coming in against *Athanasius*, both many, and of great Consequence: they assure, the Witnesses that would now appear were not mean Persons, and they pray his Majesty that a Synod may be called, and the Criminal heard in a legal way.

The *Arians* sollicit the Emperour against *Athanasius*.

35. Though *Constantine* (as at this distance one may well imagine) might have had sufficient cause both to suspect their Malice, and acquit the Bishop in his own Conscience; yet growing now old he became more easie to be wrought upon, both by the Importunities of his own Relations, and the Flatteries and Courtship of those about him, Justice withall seeming to call upon him, which the name of Five Bishops, who were ready to give in the Information, seemed very much to induce him to believe. He granted therefore their Petition, and appointed a Council to be held at *Cæsarea* in *Palæstine*, a place picked out on purpose by *Eusebius* for the temper of the Clergy by whom he was to be judged, *Athanasius* seeing very well as Matters were devised, and how they would end; there being scarce Four Orthodox Bishops in that Conntry, gave his reasons to the Emperour why he might justly decline his appearance at that place. Hereat the Emperour was nettled, as conceiving his Authority injured by such a refusal, yet he betrayed not his Indignation much further than changing the place of meeting from *Cæsarea* to *Tyre* (for which change also some pretence was made, that the Bishops might consecrate that Famous Church lately builded at *Hierusalem*) he commanded him to appear there at his peril, and lest he should make a default, orders the Commander in chief of those Parts to bring his Person before the Council.

Whereupon a Council is Summoned to *Cæsarea*.

Another at *Tyre* where *Athanasius* is to appear at his peril.

36. To this Council were assembled such as had been of the *Arian* Faction at *Nice*, and as *Eusebius* thought might be most for his turn, Sixty only as *Socrates* informeth, over whom he appointed *Dionysius* the Count to preside with a Band of Soldiers for a Guard. *Athanasius* perceiving the Emperours mind to be alienated from him, and that he was to be convented before his Enemies under the Moderatorship of Soldiers, whereby neither could the Council, such as it was, be free, debated with himself, whether he should present himself, and for Three Months not Thirty (as the Copy of *Sozomen* now hath it) deferred his appearance, by which he gained time to understand the Matters wherewith he was charged, and how to answer them. Yet lest he should give his Enemies occasion to insult, and fresh Advantages whereby further to calumniate him to the Emperour, he appeared, and with him Forty seven of his Suffragan Bishops amongst whom *Potamon* and *Paphnutius* formerly mentioned, and *Macarius* his faithful Presbyter was thither brought in Chains by the Souldiers. The Accusations were taken from the former Depositions against him in the Case of *Ischyras* and *Arsenius*, which though he demonstrated to be frivolous, and that Mans Ordination null, yet did he profit nothing, his Enemies being resolved, the Count taking away all Freedom, and his Souldiers offering Violence to all of the Defendants Party.

37. When the business concerning *Arsenius* came to be opened, the Dead Mans Hand pretended to be cut off from his Dead Body, was produced, whereat *Arsenius* who came to testifie in the behalf of the Bishop, presented himself showing both Hands sound and entire to the Judges. The *Arians* confounded at this sight, instead of Confession, broke out into a rage, facing him out that this was meer Inchantment and Delusion, and falling upon him, they had torn him in pieces, had not the Count interposed. As for the breaking of the Chalice, to all the sober Party the Story seemed sufficiently confuted by its own Vanity; but the *Arians* would not be content to hear, except they send some of their own Faction to see and report the Matter. This Resolution was protested against by the two *Ægyptian* Bishops, who importuned both the Council and Count that so strange a Resolution might not take effect, but that all things might be reserved to the cognizance of the Emperour. But when neither the *Arian* Bishops would alter their Resolutions, nor *Dionysius* the Count recall those whom they had dispatched to *Mæotis*, *Athanasius* departed from *Tyre* towards *Constantinople*, to lay open to the Emperour those Outragious Proceedings. Those that were sent in the mean time to *Mæotis* assisted by *Philagrius* the Prefect, and the Soldiers addicted to the *Arian* Party, refused such Clerks and others as were ready to appear in behalf of *Athanasius* and *Macarius*, but taking their

After several false Accusations.

Athan. ut suprà. Sozom. l. 2. c. 24. alii.

Evidence from *Jews*, *Catechumeni* and *Heathens*, at their return to *Tyre* gave up to their Masters a suitable Verdict, whereupon ensued a Sentence correspondent, that *Athanasius* should be deprived of his Bishoprick, be suffered no more to reside at *Alexandria*, but *John* the Principal of the *Meletian* Faction, with others of that Gang, should be received into Communion, and all restored to their former Dignities and Preferments. Of this their Sentence and Decree they inform *Constantine*, as also other Bishops, whom they forbid to have any Communication whatsoever with *Athanasius*.

The *Arian* Bishops deprive *Athanasius* of his Bishoprick.

38. Several of the honest Party shewed their dislike of those Proceedings at that Council with Indignation. *Paphnutius* evidently perceiving the drift of *Eusebius* and his Party, and heard they had got a Guard suitable to their Design, stepping to *Maximus* Bishop of *Hierusalem*, who being his Brother Confessor had lost also an Eye and a Leg in the Persecution of *Maxentius*, and taking him by the Hand, bad him rise up, telling him it was not fit for them who had suffered such things as they had for Christ, to abide in the company of such wicked men, forasmuch as he could not but clearly perceive how contrary to Justice the business was managed; and so departing, he told him the whole Story concerning *Athanasius*, to whom *Maximus* ever after continued a most faithful Friend. And *Potamon* seeing *Eusebius* sit in State as Judge, who formerly had denied his Saviour, and *Athanasius* standing as a Delinquent without any respect, though of so high a Dignity in the Church as Metropolitan of such a See, he could not refrain himself, but upbraided therewith the proud and insulting Prelate. But all to no purpose, *Athanasius* must be ruined, that *Arius* might return, and with him *Arianism*, into the *Alexandrian* Province. This year died *Sylvester* Bishop of *Rome* at the last day of the Year, having governed that Church One and twenty Years; to whom succeeded *Marcus*, on the Eighteenth of the Calends of *February*. He died on the Nones of *October*, (*October* 7.) and after the See had been void Twenty days, *Julius* succeeded on the Sixth before the Calends of *November*, *A. D.* 336. *V. C.* 1089. the Ninth Indiction, the Fourth of the 278. *Olympiad*. *Fl. Popilius Nepotianus* and *Facundus* being Consuls.

Sylvester Bishop of *Rome* dies. Is succeeded by *Marcus*. Then *Julius*.

Damasus.

39. The Fathers having dispatched this business, removed to *Hierusalem* to the Consecration of the Church upon *Calvary*, where they performed the Ceremony with much exactness according to the Emperours Orders. It happened in the mean while that *Arius*, by procurement of that Priest whom *Constantia* at the point of Death had commended to her Brother, was permitted to come before the Emperour, who promised him respect and countenance, provided he adhered to the Determinations of the *Nicene* Council. He professes to acquiesce in those Determinations, and offers to *Constantine* a Confession of his Faith in Writing, whereat many of the Orthodox Party quarrelled, for that it wanted the word *Consubstantial*. Hereupon the Emperour resolving to reserve the Examination of it to competent Judges, sent it to *Jerusalem*. The Orthodox there plainly perceived that by this new Creed, and leaving out the word *Consubstantial* (however he called the second Person God, and Begotten of his Father before all Ages) he overthrew all that the *Nicene* Fathers had Established, yet could they do no good, *Eusebius* his Party being so strong, that they approved of his Confession, and Decreed he should be received into Communion. *Athanasius* e're this was got to the Emperour, before whom he so laid open the Original and Progress of the Calumnies devised against him, that *Constantine* in great displeasure commanded his Judges to appear before him. There *Eusebius* the Ringleader, with Five others of the most bold appeared, the rest slipping away to their own Churches. Now made they no mention of the breaking of the Chalice, or the matter concerning *Arsenius*, but preventing the danger of being called to account for what had passed at *Tyre*, charged him with new and strange Matter. This was no less than *that he should stop the Corn which from Ægypt* (the Granary of the Empire) *was wont yearly to be sent to Constantinople.*

Athan. de Synod.

Soc. l. 2. c. 22. &c. Athan. Apol. 2.

Another charge against *Athanasius*.

40. This being attested by Five Bishops, which being formerly of his Party, had now apostatized to the *Arians*, the Emperour gave them credit as his Favourers, and in great wrath refusing to hear his Apology, banished him to *Triers* a City of the *Belgick Gall*, now the See of one of the Ecclesiastical Electors of the *German* Empire. He being banished, the *Arians* also procured the same Judgment to be given against his Orthodox Suffragan Bishops, and this being past, and the way made for *Arius*, they procure him License to return to *Alexandria*. There he had not long been, but he raised a Tumult in the City, most of the Inhabitants

Upon which he is banished to *Triers* in *Gall*.

Arius returns to *Alexandria*.

Inhabitants whereof refused to Communicate with him, affirming that as to Religion they were of the same Judgment as formerly, and being much exasperated for the Banishment of their Bishop. The news coming to *Constantinople*, the Emperour sends for *Arius* and *John* the *Meletian* Bishop his great Friend and abetter. Much of the blame lighting upon the *Meletians*, he was banished, and *Arius* kept still at *Constantinople*, where presently great stirs happened again about him, some remaining stedfast to the *Nicene Creed*, and others affirming the opinion of *Arius* most agreeable to the Truth. At this time *Alexander*, who a little before had succeeded *Metrophanes*, governed that Church, a Man very Pious and Orthodox. Him *Eusebius* threatened sore, in case he would not receive the Arch-Heretick into Communion, which he as constantly refusing, till the Matter was brought before the Emperour. *Constantine* calls for *Arius*, and taking notice that where-ever he goes still Tumults follow him; he asked him whether or no he did really imbrace and hold the *Nicene Faith*. He professing that he did, the Emperour required his Subscription, and when he had as willing, set his Hand to the Articles, to take away all scruple from *Constantine*, made Oath also, as he was enjoyned. But it is said that he equivocated in this latter, having his private Opinion in his own Sense in Writing under his Arm when he made his Oath, and that he Sware in relation to that, and not to what he Subscribed in the Emperours presence.

Socr. lib. 1. c. penult. Theod. l. 1. c. 14.

Thence is sent for to *Constantinople.*

And the Bishop commanded by the Emperour to receive *Arius* into Communion.

41. The Emperour now satisfied about *Arius* his Judgment, commands *Alexander* the Bishop of *Constantinople* to receive him into Communion. He seeing now his Disputes would not prevail, and that there was no strugling with the Emperour, betook himself to Prayer, wherein he spent several days and nights, desiring of Almighty God, that if it was his pleasure to permit *Arius* to come to the Communion, he might be taken first out of the way, and never see it; but if he intended Mercy to his Church, to cut off that Man. The Lords day being come, he passed early in the Morning (that he might get into the Church before *Alexander*) being conducted in great State, till he came to *Constantine's Forum*, where whether naturally or out of fear (which sometimes produceth such an effect) he found himself seized with a Laske, whereupon being directed to the common Privy near at hand, there together with Excrements he voided his Entrails, Guts, Spleen, Liver and all, and was found dead in a strange and horrible manner. *Sozomen* Writes that this place for a long time continued very remarkable, so as to be pointed at by all Passengers, and so execrable that no Man would make use of it; till at length a rich *Arian* that he might abolish the memory of the thing, purchased the House, pulled it down, and raised other Buildings in the room of it. But the horror of this Mans Death had this effect, that many formerly in Error seeing God thus bear witness to the Truth, were Converted to it; those of *Eusebius* his Party were stricken with great Terror, and the Emperour himself was more confirmed in the Orthodox Faith.

Which is prevented by *Arius* his sudden death.

L. 2. c. 26.

42. But he himself lived not long after, a Judgment as some supposed for his too much easiness (to speak modestly) towards that Heretick, and his very unequal carriage towards *Athanasius*. Feeling himself sick, he left *Constantinople* and sailed to *Helenopolis*, where he made use of the hot Baths near the Town, but when they gave him no Relief, growing still sicker, he left them, and went to *Nicomedia*, where in the Suburbs he called the Bishops together, and signified to them his desire of Baptism, saying it is now time that at last we should receive that Sign of Immortality, telling them that he had so long deferred it, because he intended to have been Baptized in the River *Jordan*, after the Example of our Saviour. His Baptism being performed, he gave great sign of incredible Joy, and a little after that died; as writeth *Eusebius* or the Author of the History of his Life, with whose Narration do consent all the Antient * Ecclesiastical Writers, both as to place and time, that his Baptism happened both a little before he died, and that at *Nicomedia*; although Pope *Hadrian* and some Modern Writers, as *Baronius*, *Genebrard*, and others contend that he was Baptized at *Rome* in the Nineteenth Year of his Reign; and *Binius*, who hath made Annotations upon the Councils strangely affirms that the *Nicene Council* by the consent of all Writers was held after that *Constantine* was Baptized. Their Arguments are drawn from a supposed Leprosie, wherewith they make the Emperour to be struck for his hainous Sins, as Persecuting of the Christians till about that time, and the Murder of *Crispus* his Son, with others whom he most unjustly put to death. *Sylvester* Bishop of *Rome*, who as they pretend Baptized him, is said to have fled to the Mountains, being forced from his Flock by his Persecution,

Constantine is Baptized at *Nicomedia.*

* *Soc. l. 1. c. ult. Soz. l. 2. c. 32. Theod. l. 1. c. 31. Hieron. contin. Chr. Euseb. An. 340. Ambros. Orat. in obitum Theodosii Pomponius latus alii.*

Persecution, whereas not only the consent of History, but all the several Edicts of *Constantine* by their Date do clearly evidence that he was converted long before this time, and *Crispus* his Son, as appears by the Consular Tables, was alive after this Year. But for the supportment of a spurious Council, which making much for the Papal Interest, they would have to follow this Baptism and held at *Rome* by *Silvester*, as also to gain credit to the Donation of *Constantine*, which as an act of Gratitude must also have ensued this his Baptism; they take those Arguments from *Zozimus* a professed Enemy both of this Emperour and of all Christianity, to the disparagement of the Catholick Cause, which they would make truckle under that of a Private Church. But to all their Arguments and Weak Pretences, our Dr. *Crackanthorp* hath abundantly answered in his Defence of *Constantine*.

He is cleared from the Aspersion of *Arianism*.

43. The Baptism indeed of *Constantine* at *Nicomedia* being performed by *Eusebius* Bishop of that *City*, as is supposed at the first sight would seem to determine that question, whether or no all his actions against *Athanasius*, and his siding with that Bishop and his Party, may not justly denominate him an *Arian*, at least as to us, whose Capacity reacheth no further than the bounds of Probability. But although we may observe that in his old Age he was more easie and lay open to the Craft, Insinuations and Flatteries of those about him (and amongst the rest those of that Courtly Prelate *Eusebius*) which Heathen † Writers have also taken notice of, yet have we sufficient evidence to acquit him from the guilt of that Heresie. For his constant adhering to the *Nicene* Faith is even in the Story of *Athanasius* all along perspicuous, against whom *Eusebius* never durst ingage, whatever his private designs were, in the Notion of an *Arian*, pretended a love only to good Order, Discipline and Tranquillity of the Church, and upon pretence of *Athanasius* his Male-administration, raised such a Storm against that good Bishop. The Emperour having to do with so strong a Faction in his Court, which was formerly bred through his natural affection to his Sister, and now carried on by the cunning of *Eusebius*, was drawn to do many things which really tended to the Service of that Party. But these Persons appeared not to him in their true Dress, they acted not this part but in Disguises and Vizards, they walked one way, but he being in sight ever looked another.

† *Victor ait Constantinum* 10. *omnis praestantissimum*, 11. *sequentibus latronem*, 12. *ultimis pupillum fuisse*.

His adhering to the *Nicene* Creed.

During his whole Reign *Eusebius* and his Party durst not recant, his Recantation ever pretending an adherence to the Determinations of the *Nicene* Fathers. The Emperours Inclinations were for Peace, and for burying of all old Displeasures, his Age deprived him of his former Activity and Sagacity, whereby he was more easily wrought upon, but it is clear that he never countenanced *Eusebius* but as a Catholick and Orthodox Bishop.

And his Laws against Hæreticks.

44. The Laws also made by him, declare him to have been of this Disposition. For in his One and twentieth year, in his own and his Childrens name, he (*a*) forbids that such Priviledges and Immunities as he had conferred upon Orthodox Clerks, should be transferred upon Hæreticks, by which must be meant the *Arians*, as well as others, who the foregoing year had been declared such by the *Nicene* Fathers. Being sensible also what Heartburnings, Divisions, Scandalous Words and Works those Differences in Religion had raised, not only betwixt Christians and Heathens, but Christians themselves, anathematizing and nicknaming one another, by a Law made in the Twenty third year, he commands that Infamous Libels should not be examined and canvased but burnt, as he formerly at the Council of *Nice* had never looked in, but burnt such Complaints and Petitions as the Bishops had presented against one another. Indeed the time was late to which he deferred his Baptism, but it was not his single and peculiar fault, it was a bad Custom which much obtained at that time amongst all sorts of Professors; not only Emperours but others who afterwards did especial Service in the Church, long deferring the receiving that Christian Character, as we shall see hereafter. This may diminish if not quite remove the blame cast upon this Emperour, who for further excuse pleaded a design (though not necessary yet something plausible) of being Baptized in that place where his Saviour had formerly submitted to that Ordinance. However, the Church of Christ having received such and so great things from his Patronage and Protection, who was the first Baptized if not the first Christian Emperour of all others; the great distance of time betwixt his Age and ours ought not so to abolish our Sence of those Matters, as either to despise him, or be unthankful to God for so excellent an Instrument, much less ought we to quarrel with those Writers who having felt as well the smart of the former Persecutions, and undergone the

(a) *Cod. Inst. l. 1. tit. 5. §. 1.*

Cod. Theod. l. 9. t. 34. §. 1.

the heat of the day of Trial, as the comfort of those Refreshments the Church received from God by his means, both praise the Author and commend the Instrument.

Eusebius Bishop of *Cæsarea* vindicated from the Calumny of the Cardinal Annalist.

45. But the Cardinal Annalist warm in his Purple, and not so sensible of the benefit received by *Constantine*, because he never felt the need of it, falls very foul upon *Eusebius* Bishop of *Cæsarea* the Author of the Ecclesiastical History, and as he supposed, of the Book called the Life of *Constantine*. His Language towards such a Reverend Bishop cannot be excused of Incivility, giving him the Lye, so often calling him the *Architect and Deviser of Lyes*, with many other extravagant Epithets, as making his Histories but a Fardle of Lyes, and composed rather for the eversion than the Publication of true Story; though he will have them truly and clearly to hold out and maintain his own Assertion against their Author, that *being not only a Lyar but an Hæretick, an Arian and Theopaskite, one worthily cast out of the Church, and as such to be rejected by all Readers.* But all have not been of the Cardinals opinion, though *Eusebius* be not to be patronized in all Particulars. St. *Hierome* who was a more capable Judge, as living near those times, saith, *He hath excellently written the Ecclesiastical History, and commends him both for that and his Chronicon.* *Evagrius Scholasticus* beginneth his own History thus: Eusebius Pamphilus *a Man without all peradventure as in other things profound, so in Penning excellent, is of such efficacy in his Works, that although he cannot make the Readers perfect Christians, yet can he so draw them by perswasion, that with prompt and willing minds they will imbrace the Christian Faith. Eusebius, Socrates, Sozomenus and Theodoret, have written most exquisitely of the Incarnation of our most loving Saviour*, &c. And to pass by many Modern Writers of the Cardinals perswasion as to Religion, remarkable is the opinion of one of their most † Grave and Judicious Authors, whose judgment is, that *Eusebius was a Man of great diligence and labour, of exceeding variety of reading, and of very grave judgment. Neither do I know*, saith he, *whether any Author either in the Latin or Greek Church, though he strive never so much, can leave more excellent Monuments of time.*

Temporum eversor, calumniator malicio-sus, profusus adulator, &c.

Ecclesiasticam Hist. politice texuit. Ep. ad Pammach. & Apol. 1. adversus Ruffinum.

† *Cænus loc. Theol. l. 11. c. 6.*

And Pope *Gelasius* by consent of good Authors.

46. Pope *Gelasius* indeed with his Seventy two Bishops doth censure the History of *Eusebius*, but it is only in respect of the Story of *Abgarus* and some few things more, not condemning the whole or the greatest part thereof. But the Fathers of the Second *Nicene* Synod struck him dead by their Decree that rejects and anathematizeth his Book, yea, all that read them, calling him *Hæretick*, an *Arian* and a *Theopaskite*, or *one who taught that Christ had no Soul, but the Godhead supplied that Office, that so the Deity might be said to suffer.* But his Crime was, he † had taught that no Image could fully express Christ, being both God and Man, and the good Fathers not enduring that any should cross their Doctrine of Images, thus brand him, making him both an *Arian* and a *Theopaskite*, that is both an *Arian* and not an *Arian*, both a *Theopaskite* and not a *Theopaskite*; for if an *Arian*, then could not the Deity inform the Body, Christ not being really God, according to him, and if a *Theopaskite*, then the Deity informing the Body, he must have been perfect God though not perfect Man, and of the same substance with the Father, or else there must have been two real and perfect Deities. This Hæresie (*a*) of the *Theopaskites* sprung not up till about the Five hundred and thirteenth year of our Lord, more than One hundred and sixty years after the Death of *Eusebius*, who in all his Writings doth rightly and truly teach two distinct (*b*) Natures to be in Christ, and the (*c*) Divine Nature to be incapable of Passion, Affection or Mutilation. It is true that he inclined to *Arianism* before the *Nicene* Council, and was an earnest defender of *Arius*; but this was but till that Synod, he being Reformed, continued Orthodox ever after, as both his own Writings and other (*d*) Authors abundantly testifie, together with the Suffrage of *Constantine* the Emperour himself, (*e*) who gives not only his own opinion of the Man, but that also of the Catholick Church. Of late times (*f*) *Sixtus Senensis* a Man of infinite Reading, yet (abating his Parts) of great judgment, is of the same mind; whence it appears that no time indeed he was an Hæretick. By ignorance and Infirmity, falling into that Error, he did not through Pride, Arrogance, and Obstinacy therein continue; but now the case being defined by the Church, he both conformed his Belief and Deportment to its Decrees, and dying a Catholick, was Canonized for a Saint by the Greek Church, the Commemoration of his Death being celebrated on the Twenty first day of *June* in *Palæstine*.

† *Citantur verba Act. 6.*

(a) *Prateol. in Theop.*

(b) *Euseb. Hist. l. 1. c. 1.*

(c) *Apud Soc. l. 1. c. 5.*

(d) *Idem ibid. & l. 2. c. 17. Theod. l. 1. c. 12.*

(e) *Epist. Const. ad Euseb. vita Const. l. 3. c. 59.*

(f) *In Bibliotheca in Eusebio.*

Consule Dr. Crackanthorp *omnino lib. Cui titulus.* The Defence of *Constantine.*

So

So little did the Consideration of his having been against Images, his telling the plain truth about the Baptism of *Constantine*, and his not telling that which never was (*viz.* about the Donation) work with unintereſted and unbyaſſed Perſons.

47. It is not the leaſt part of the Apology for *Conſtantine*, that he cauſed his Three Sons *Conſtantine*, *Conſtantius* and *Conſtans* to be trained up in the Orthodox Faith. Of thoſe Three two retained the Principles they had been bred in, *viz.* *Conſtantine* and *Conſtans*, but *Conſtantius* revolted and turned a bitter Perſecutor of the Church. It happened very ill that his Father made him the Executor of his Will and Teſtament, which he committed to the Hands of his Siſters Prieſt, whom ſhe at her Death had commended to his care, commanding him to deliver it to no Mans Hand but to his Son *Conſtantius*, hereby as it were commending the Man to his Son, if not as a Counſellor yet as an eſpecial Friend, whereby he got opportunity to inſinuate into the Son, and inſtill thoſe Principles which he durſt never own to the Father. Hereupon enſued moſt ſad and diſmal Conſequences to the Orthodox Party, this Prieſt having gained Intereſt by Degrees; for firſt he tampered with the Courtiers, then having made a Party amongſt them, betook himſelf to the Empreſs and the Ladies, but eſpecially he inveigled the Eunuchs about the Emperour, who were the great Inſtruments which he and *Euſebius* uſed for carrying on their Deſigns, being near to the Perſon, and having perpetually the Ear of the Prince. But in the mean time *Athanaſius* is releaſed from Baniſhment by the Emperour *Conſtantine*, in whoſe Dominions the City *Triers* was, to which he had been confined. He ſent him back to *Alexandria* with his Letters Commendatory to the Inhabitants, telling them they could not but know that his Father did not baniſh their Biſhop out of diſpleaſure, but ſent him out of the way of danger, and that when he died, he left it to him in charge, that *Athanaſius* ſhould be reſtored, in purſuance of which command, and to anſwer their deſires, he now ſent him to them. And ſo returned *Athanaſius* to his See, after he had been abſent two Years and four Months, and was received by his People with great Joy, all ſorts and degrees flocking about to ſee him.

Vit. Conſt. l. 4. c. 52.

Athanaſius is releaſed from Baniſhment.

Soc. l. 2. c. 2. Theod. l. 2. c. 1.

48. *Conſtantius* did not at all hinder his Reſtitution, nor the return of thoſe other Biſhops which had been his Companions in Faith and Sufferings, both leaſt he ſhould ſeem to withſtand his dying Fathers orders, and ſhould thereby diſoblige his Elder Brother. But long it was not before *Euſebius* the Prieſt, and others of that Party began to inſinuate into this Prince, that he was by all means to be driven from that Church. "Beſides their old Ca-"lumnies they alledge great Seditions and Slaughters to have happened at "*Alexandria* through the unwillingneſs of the People to receive him again; "they affirm that being deprived by one Council, he cannot Canonically be "reſtored without another, and they again accuſe him of defrauding the "Poor of *Ægypt* and *Lybia* of that Corn which through the Munificence of "*Conſtantine* was wont to be beſtowed upon them. To make their Party more ſtrong, they ſend their Meſſengers into the Weſt to the other two Emperours, whom they labour to poſſeſs with the ſame prejudice againſt *Athanaſius*, as alſo *Julius* the Biſhop of *Rome*; but all this to no purpoſe, the Biſhop alſo ſending ſome of his Clerks, who eaſily wiped off all theſe Slanders. But, Matters grew ſtill worſe, the *Arians* inſinuating themſelves more and more into all Offices of the Church, and by feigned Accuſations thruſting out ſuch of the Orthodox Party as would moſt oppoſe their deſign. *Alexander* the good Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* they much grudged his Seat, but let him alone, as expecting Death ſhould ſave them the trouble of outing him. This ſhortly came to paſs, and when the old Man ſaw his end approaching, as careful to have ſome honeſt Man to ſucceed him, he named two: one *Macedonius* whom he thought moſt acceptable at Court, and *Paulus* whom for his Principles of Religion he commended to his Clergy.

Alexander Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* dies.

49. *Paul* a Prieſt of his Church, and a Man eminent for Learning and Piety was accordingly choſen, Admitted and Ordained by the Biſhops there Aſſembled, according to the Canons of the *Nicene* Council. The *Arians* having ſtickled for *Macedonius* were very much concerned for the Defeat, and *Conſtantius* the Emperour at that time coming to the City, moſt willingly eaſed them of their grief, calling an Aſſembly of *Arian* Biſhops, wherein *Paul* was removed, and to his place preferred *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Nicomedia*, the great Patron of the Faction, than

Paul choſe in his ſteed, but outed by the *Arians*; and *Euſebius* of *Nicomedia* tranſlated thither.

Soc. l. 2. c. 4. Soz. l. 3. c. 4.

than which they could not have a more notable advantage: For now he hath not only an opportunity for residing constantly at Court, but more Power and Authority to back his purposes, which he quickly improves to the Deprivation of *Eustathius* Bishop of *Antioch*, who had been very eminent in the Council of *Nice*, and therefore they concluded that as well he as *Athanasius* and *Paul* were to be removed; laying to his Charge Adultery, *Sabellianism* and other lesser Crimes, they got him Banished to *Trajanople* a City of *Thrace*, where he died and was Buried. After him they sent many others into Banishment, some under pretence of various Crimes, others without any thing laid to their Charge, but all in truth for defending the *Nicene Faith*, those of the *Arian* party though never so despicable, being put in their Places. And from this time it is, as *Baronius* observeth, that, what St. *Hierome* hath said in his Continuation of *Eusebius* his Chronicon, concerning the *Arian* Persecution, is to take Place, *viz.* That henceforth this Impiety being supported by *Constantius* the Emperour, Persecuted with Banishment Imprisonment and other various sorts of Afflictions and Miseries first *Athanasius*, and then all other Bishops that were not of that Hæretical Party. This was the Fourth Year of *Constantius* (though St. *Hierome* places the beginning of those things in his Second) *A. D.* 340. of *Rome* the 1093, the last of the 279. *Olympiad*, the 13 Indiction, *Fl. Septimius Acyndinus*, and *L. Aradius Rufinus Valerius Proculus* being Consuls.

Athan. Apol. & ep. ad solit. agentes.

Eusebius Bishop of *Cæsarea* dies.

50, This same Year dyed *Eusebius* Bishop of *Cæsarea*, Author of the Ecclesiastical History, of whom we lately spoke, to whose Character had *Baronius* added his Industry in this particular, and confessed how much he was beholden to that very Person whom he had endeavoured to render so odious, it might have served for an Epitaph more expressive both of the Bishops desert and the Cardinals gratitude. But whilst these Bishops leave either their Sees or this World, *Athanasius* (as great Bodies have slower motions) a Person though more envied and Maligned, yet of more Interest and Authority, was not so easily removed from his Bishoprick. *Julius* Bishop of *Rome* receiving complaints against him from the *Arians*, as also his defensive Arguments, is by both Parties chosen Arbitrator in the controversy, and desired to call a Synod, wherein *Athanasius* his Cause might again be debated: He accordingly as he was Impowered calls a Synod at *Rome*, and appoints a time for all concerned to be present; *Athanasius* made his appearance, and was ready to answer, but none of his Accusors would come, though he staid for them a Year and a half, during which time he is said to have Communicated to the *Italians* those Monastical præcepts which he had received from *Antony* in the Wilderness, with a Copy of the Creed, still going under his Name, which being written in Latin continued long in the Archives of the *Roman* Church as *Baronius* tells us. The *Arians* unbethought themselves that they should assuredly receive the Foil at *Rome*, the Bishops of the Western Church being generally Orthodox; they considered the Cause should only be decided by Ecclesiasticals, where there should be no Count to præside, nor any Soulders to affright and threaten their Antagonists, by which means they had formerly had the better of him. They pretended they could not safely Travel to *Rome* by reason of the *Persian* War, and detaining the Messenger which *Julius* the Bishop had sent for them, beyond the very day appointed, for their appearance, procured *Constantius* to summon them to *Antioch*, to the Dedication of that magnificent Church called *Aureum Dominicum*, formerly began by *Constantine* and now finished by *Constantius* his Son.

A Synod is call'd at *Rome*, where the *Arians* come not

Athan. Apol.

Ad An. D. 340.

51. The *Arians* glad of such excuse for going to the *Roman* Synod, assembled together, to the Number of Thirty Six Bishops, with whom met so many of the Orthodox Party as to make it up Ninety Seven, or Ninety Nine. But many refused to be present (as *Maximus* Bishop of *Jerusalem* for one,) knowing before hand how matters would be determined; others were seized on in their Journey and Imprisoned, and as for *Julius* the *Roman* Bishop, he neither was present, nor sent any in his room; however there met enough and more to do the business designed by the *Arians*, who overpowered the Orthodox, though not in Number, yet in Confidence, Resolution, and the favour of the Emperour, by whom their Decrees and Resolutions were made Authentick though Excanonical. Now "besides the charge formerly laid against *Athanasius* at *Tyre*, they make the same "complaints against him which they had sent to *Julius*, as that he had broken "the Canons, thrusting himself into his former Function without the Admission "and Consent of the Council, rushing into the Church of *Alexandria*, after his re-"turn from Exile; moreover that he had done many acts of Violence and In-

Another at *Antioch*, where the *Arians* prevailed.

Socr. c. 8. Græc.

"justice, having raised Tumults among the People, wherein some were Slain, "others Imprisoned and beaten, and others he had forced to answer at the Bar. As for the matters objected against him at *Tyre*, they had been over and over Confuted, partly by their own Folly, and partly the confession of the Parties themselves that were brought against him. The report concerning the Tumults was Convicted of Falshood, by the Letter of the *Alexandrian* Church, wherein *Constantius* is told that true Catholicks use no such Weapons in their Warfare as Death, Imprisonment, Bonds or corporal Punishments; concerning which the Civil Magistrate can give best account: And as for the business concerning his intrusion into his Church, without leave or order; it's clear enough that he was not banished by the Emperour, in order to what was done at *Tyre*, the Matter whereof depended upon Appeal before him: but upon new Matter Originally rising before him, which being of a Political consideration, concerning the publick Peace, the Emperour might as well restore *Athanasius*, as banish him, without a Council.

And *Athanasius* is condemned both as Guilty and contumacious.

52. *Athanasius* appeared not himself on purpose as some think, that the matter might not be decided. *Constantius* sent to Apprehend him, but he kept himself out of the way, and thereupon was Condemned both as guilty and Contumacious. To Succeed him was chosen one *Eusebius*, born at *Edessa* in *Mesopotamia*, who knowing well how he should be received at *Alexandria*, whilst *Athanasius* was yet alive, plainly refused their offer: He then is made Bishop of *Emisa*, and *Athanasius* his Chair is conferred on one who will not refuse it, as made of fit Mettle for such an Exploit, by Name *Gregory*, a Man altogether unknown, both to the Church and Province of *Alexandria*. Having dispatcht *Athanasius*, they go about to overthrow the *Nicene Faith*, but such Reputation it had got, and they themselves had hitherto made Profession of it, that it must be covertly by degrees and by way of Insinuation; as all Parties and Sects hate to be called by the Name of their Founders, they disclaim that of *Arius*; even the Dignity of their Episcopal Office forbidding they should become Proselites to a Presbyter: They frame a Creed of their own, as scorning to Truckle under the *Nicene Council*, which is so plausibly Penned, as yet to beware of the word *Consubstantial*, or to own the Son of the same Substance and Essence with the Father. This Creed they send in an Epistle to the Churches throughout every City. But continuing at *Antioch* a little longer, and unbethinking themselves, they in a manner condemn it, framing a new one; for being conscious that they had spoken too Jejunely concerning the Divinity of the Second Person, and thereby could not possibly shun that Censure which they had indeavoured to prevent, they now profess to hold that Faith which had been delivered by the Holy Scriptures Prophets and Apostles, and so own the God-head of the Son, and yield to the word Substance; yet they acknowledge him not of very same Substance with the Father, but as it were the Image thereof without any dissimilitude. To those they subscribed and amonst them *Gregory* with the Title of Bishop of *Alexandria*, though as yet he had not seen the place; but not content with those two (thinking it seems that by the later they had given too much to the Son of God, as by the first they had ascribed too little) *Theophronius* Bishop of *Tyara* composed another Form to which they assented; and still not satisfied, as not knowing where to fix, *Athanasius* tells us, they composed a fourth Form of Confession, which they sent to *Constans* the Emperour into *Gall*, and dispersed all over the Western Churches.

The *Arians* here make four several Creeds,

Soc. l. 2. c. 10. Gr.

And Twenty five Canons.

53. Besides those four Creeds, they framed Twenty five Canons, against which, though several of the Ancients except, as composed by Hereticks, yet by old Collectors of Canons have they been gathered together, as made by Orthodox Bishops, and in the Council of *Chalecdon* two of them are cited word for word. For Hereticks may decree other things orthodoxly which are not material to the thing in Controversie, and the *Arians* cunningly caused the Names of Bishops eminent for their Zeal towards the *Nicene* Faith, to be set to the Epistle præfixed to the Canons, omitting those of *Eusebius*, *Theognis*, *Mæris* and others, the most notorious of all *Arians*. And that they might not seem in the least to thwart the Council of *Nice*, but as concerned for its Authority, their first Canon makes it unlawful to Celebrate *Easter* otherwise than that Council had determined. The Second ordains that Persons Excommunicate shall not be absolved without satisfaction made, the contrary being now practiced by a new Sect lately sprung up, called *Anthropomorphites*; as also that none Communicate with Excommunicated Persons. The Third commands that no Clerk remove to another Church, without his Diocesans leave, and there continue. The Fourth

7. q. 1. Si quis Presbyter.

Ordains

Ordains that no suspended Bishop or Clerk offer to execute his Function. The Fifth forbids Priests to separate themselves, and erect Altars amongst themselves in contempt of the Bishops. The Sixth prohibits any to receive such as are Excommunicated by the Bishops, till they be either reconciled to them, or restored by Synods. By the Seventh, no stranger (Clerk) is to be received without Letters Commendatory. By the Eighth the *Chorepiscopi* are only Licensed, no Inferiour Priests, to give general Letters. The Ninth sets Limits to the power of a Bishop, those of his own Diocess forbidding him to meddle with matters appertaining to the Metropolitan, whom it forbids to deal in things proper to him, as such, without the Council and Assistance of the rest of the (Priests or) Bishops.

11. q. 4 Siquis Episcopus.

11. q. 3. Siquis a proprio.

Dist. 71. Nullus atq; 6. q. 1 per Singulas.

Sacerdotum by which Bishops are often meant.

54. Their Tenth Canon is for the Restrainment of the *Chorepiscopi*, who though they were Consecrated as Bishops, yet it pleased the holy Synod (as these Men call themselves) that they should recognize the mean of their Power, governing the Churches in the Country Villages committed to them, and content themselves with that Imployment, and the ordination of Readers, Subdeacons and Exorcists, not presuming to Ordain Priests or Deacons without the Bishop of the Diocess, upon pain of deprivation. And the *Chorepiscopus* they command be ordained by the Bishop to whom he is subject. The Eleventh punishes such Bishop or Clerk with deposition, as without the Letters of the Synod and Bishops of the Province, especially the Metropolitan, shall go and solicit the Emperour about business. This they did to take away benefit of Appeals from the Orthodox. And this Canon was objected against *Chrysosthom* by his Adversaries, to whom he replied that it was made by *Arians*, and therefore was deservedly repealed by the Council of *Sardica*. But more to their purpose by their Twelfe Canon they deprive such Priests and Bishops of all hope of restitution, who being condemned by their Bishops or by Synods shall not abide by their determinations, but have recourse unto the Emperour. The Thirteenth prohibits Bishops to Ordain out of their own Province, except they be sent for by Letters from the *Metropolitan* and his Suffragans, under Penalty of the Ordinations being Null, and Censures inflicted upon their own Persons. The Fourteenth determines that in case of Tryal of a Bishop by his Comprovincials, part be for him, and part against him, the Metropolitan is to call other Bishops to his assistance out of other Provinces, who in conjunction with the former are to decide the controversy. The Fifteenth Confirms what is done against any Bishop by the Universal consent of the Bishops of the same Province.

23. q. 8. Siquis Episcopus.

10. q. 5. Siquis a proprio.

9. q. 7. Nullum Episcopum.

6. q. 4. Siquis Episcopus.

Ibid.

55. The Sixteenth Canon commands that if a Nominal Bishop (having no Diocess) intrude himself into a Vacant Church without the Consent and Decree of a compleat Synod, he shall by force be thence ejected, although the People make choice of him for their Pastor. Now a perfect Synod, that is to be understood where the Metropolitan præsides. By the Seventeenth it is decreed that if any Bishop ordained to a particular Diocess, neglectt the charge thereof, or refuse to take the care upon him, he shall be removed from Communion till such he either execute his Office or the pleasure of a Provincial Synod concerning him be known: But in case he be thence kept by force, or otherwise not by any fault of his, the Eighteenth Canon takes care that he be elswhere capable both of Honour and Ministerial Function, provided that he be not pragmatical in the Church where he is, and submit himself to what shall be determined in the Provincial Synod. The Nineteenth Enacts that no Bishop be Ordained without a Synod, and the presence of the Metropolitan. The Twentieth Ordains that for dispatch of Church business, that Bishops meets in Synods twice a Year throughout the Provinces. By the Twenty first Bishops are forbidden to change their Parishes Diocess *i. e.* either by constraint of the People or compulsion of their Fellow-Bishops, according to the ancient appointment in this Case. By the Twenty Second they are Inhibited from intermedling in anothers Diocess; from ordaining any Priests or Deacons subject to any other Bishop, without his directions and consent, upon pain of a Nullity, and Censures to be inflicted by the Synod.

Dist. 91. Si quis Episcopus.

Dist. 92. Siquis Episcopus per manu.

Dist. 9. 1. Siquis Episcopus ordinatus.

Dist. 65. Episcopus nonest.

Dist. 18. propter.

7. q. 1. Episcopum.

56. The Twenty Third Canon makes it unlawful for any Bishop to appoint his Successor although at point of Death: This being a breach of the Law Ecclesiastical, which makes this appertain to a Synod, and the resolution of Bishops, who in a Vacancy have Authority to promote such as be worthy. The Twenty Fourth gives charge to Priests and Deacons to take notice of Goods belonging to Churches, that in case of the Death of the Incumbent Bishop there be no confusion, that neither his Goods be seized on in right of the Church, nor such as

8. q. 1. Episcopum non liceat.

9. q. 21 quæcunque res.

really belong to the Church be imbezell'd by pretence of his Interest. The Twenty Fifth and last gives power to the Bishop to dispence the Goods of the Church to those that have need, and to supply himself with things necessary, but in case either he himself or his Domesticks, Sons or Kindred, by his permission make wast of those things, and convert them that belong to the Church into their own private use, either the Bishop or his Presbyters so doing to the great loss of the Power and Scandal of the Ministerial Function, it subjects them to the Censure of a Provincial Synod. To these Canons Thirty Bishops are said to have Subscribed, amongst which some were of the Orthodox Party; although some, if not most of them, as is clear from the History of this affair were made to entrap them. The Sum of the Councils made by *Carranza*, tells us that this Council of *Antioch* was approved by the Sixth general Council summoned to *Constantinople*, and Celebrated in *Trullio*; as appeareth by the Second Canon of the Greek Edition, concerning which we shall enquire hereafter: And also by Pope *Dionysius*, as appeareth by *Eusebius* in his Ecclesiastical History-book 7. * *Ch.* 24 and 25. Than which nothing can be more ridiculous: For how could *Eusebius* write of this Council who was dead the Year before? That Council which *Eusebius* writeth of in those Chapters was held against the Hæresie of *Paulus Samosatanus*, about the Twelfth Year of *Gallienus* the Emperour, when *Dionysius* was Bishop of *Rome*, *A. D.* 264. Just Seventy six Years before this other, for which this *Sciolus* strangely mistakes it.

12. 9. 8. *Episcopus Ecclesiasticarum rerum.*

*Ch. 27.21. after the Greek

57. But some of those Canons were also designed against certain Heteticks newly crept up in the Church, a sign that Thieves may fall out when they have several Ends and Interests. There was one *Andæus* born, as *Epiphanius* writes, in *Mesopotamia*, who being of a very strict Life and Zealous, did so declaim against the loosness of Ecclesiastical Persons, that for his freedom of Speech being hated and persecuted, he separated from the Church, and in his old Age was banished by *Constantius* into *Scythia*; the Bishops having accused him of a designed Rebellion: Having many Followers he is said in *Scythia* to have Erected many Monasteries, and Travelling farther into *Gothia*, by his Preaching to have Converted many to the Faith; in great admiration amongst all Men for his extraordinary Zeal and Sanctity. But his zeal was not according to knowledge, teaching that because it is said *God made Man after his own Image*; *God had the former Shape and Members of a Man.* He also taught that *Easter was to be kept on the Fourteenth Moon*, as the *Jews* observed it, to oppose which oppinion, the First of those Canons seemeth to be made, and that *absolution was to be granted to Offenders without any satisfaction to the Church in token of Penitence*; to obviate which Doctrine they framed their Second Canon. He is blamed for condemning the Riches of the Clergy, for holding that darkness, Fire and Water were uncreated. His Followers from his own Name were called *Andiani*, but especially from his opinion concerning the Form of God *Anthropomorphites*. They kept themselves separate from the Church, because Usurers and wicked Men were suffered therein, but very few of them remained in the time of *Epiphanius*.

Andæus and his Hæresie condemned.

Vid Epiphan. hær. 3.70. *Theodoret. l.* 4. *c.* 10. *Aug. ad quod vult deum. Niceph.*

58. But the Synod of *Antioch* being concluded after some Months, the Bishops returned to their Sees, and *Eusebius* the Ringleader of the *Arians* went to his long Home, or to his own Place; dying immediately after the Council broke up, as * *Socrates* tells us. Being rid of him the Orthodox party now again made choice of *Paul*, who had been formerly Elected; and the *Arians* pitcht upon *Macedonius*, whereupon ensueth such Tumults that many of both sides thereby perished, and *Hermogenes* a Commander, who taking a journey into *Thrace*, was ordered to take *Constantinople* in his way, and displace *Paul*, had first the house wherein he was Fired over his head, and then was pulled out and kil'd by the incensed Multitude. *Constantius* upon report hereof, came from *Antioch* to *Constantinople*, where he thrust *Paul* out of the Church, and to punish the Citizens took from them 40000 measures of Corn, *viz.* half of the quantity that his Father had given them daily for ever, to be sent from *Alexandria*, and charged upon the Imperial Revenue rising from *Ægypt*: He deferred to nominate *Macedonius* their Bishop, being very angry not only for accepting the Place without his knowledge and consent, but in respect of those that were slain in the Contests betwixt him and his Antigonists; yet he gave him leave to execute his Function, in that Church only where he had been chosen Bishop, and returned back to *Antioch*. And now must we return with him, and thence where we left, prosecute the Story of *Athanasius*.

Eusebius the *Arian* Bishop dyes.

Tumults upon the account of a Successor.

* *Lib.* 2. *c.* 12.

59. The

59. The *Arians* having held their Meeting at *Antioch*, and refused to appear at *Rome* at a Synod, to the calling of which they themselves had given occasion, by referring the Matter to the cognisance of *Julius*; he in a Synod of Fifty Bishops examined the Matter concerning *Athanasius*, pronounced him innocent, and received him into Communion, together with *Marcellus* Bishop of *Ancyra* in *Galatia* the lesser, and many other Bishops and Presbyters condemned and outed by the Hæretical Party. But the *Arians* hearing this news at *Antioch* where yet they continued were very wroth, and sending back the two Priests he had sent to them, whom they had retained on purpose all this while, somewhat sharply expostulated with the Bishop. They complained that the time set them for appearance was too short, and that he had taken upon him to absolve *Athanasius* and the rest, signifying that if any were banished the Church, and Excommunicated by their Decree and Censure, it was not his part to intermeddle, nor to take cognisance of their Sentence, no more than when his Predecessor had removed *Novatus* out of the Church of *Rome*, they had resisted and contraried his doings. In the mean time *Gregory* the appointed Successor of *Athanasius* goes down to take Possession of the Church of *Alexandria*, where he is gladly received by the *Arians*, and as earnestly rejected by the Orthodox, who were the more concerned because *Athanasius* their true and lawful Pastor was now amongst them, being returned from *Rome* upon notice of the Resolution taken at *Antioch* to assert his just Title and Interest against this Intruder. But *Gregory* had the advantage, bringing with him Letters from the Assembly of *Antioch*, the Emperours Mandate, and being guarded by *Philagrius* the *Præfectus Augustalis*, who according to orders received from the Prince, had with an Army of Five thousand Men brought him to *Alexandria*. Horrid Outrages were committed by both Parties to the disgrace of the Christian profession, but especially by the *Gregorians* for the better Celebration of *Easter*, which this Year fell on *April* 11. *Athanasius* finding the City too hot for him, was forced to fly, and returned as fast as he could to *Rome*, whence, that he might not be prevented by some false account from the *Gregorians*, he wrote his Epistle to all Orthodox Christians a little before the Death of *Eusebius* Bishop of *Nicomedia*, for publick satisfaction he wrote in this Epistle such things in haste as in his other Writings he communicates more fully, especially in his Epistle to those that lived Solitarily, or Monastical Lives wherein he comprisetb such things as were done by the *Arians* against the Orthodox Party, especially those of the Church of *Alexandria*.

Athan. Apol. 2. & ad Scholeries.

The Council at *Rome* clear *Athanasius* and receive him into Communion.

Gregory intrudes into the See of *Alexandria*.

Athan. Ep. ad Orthodoxos.

60. *Gregory* being got into Possession of that Church, made a Progress in the Government thereof suitable to his beginning, managing his Office like an Hæretick and a Tyrant. In the mean while those of his Party perceiving that whatever they had pretended, yet they suffered in Reputation as *Arians*, a Character they shunned, as ignominious to their Episcopal Degree, to receive a Denomination from a meer Presbyter, and one who was Infamous both in his Life and Death, they therefore agree once more to meet at *Antioch*. There they frame another Confession of Faith, so exceeding long and tedious, that it got the Epithete of Μακρόστιχον, and this they sent to the Western Bishops for their Approbation. But they missed of their design herein also, being still unfortunate in all their Creeds. For the Cheat was easily perceived, they having again in this omitted the word *Consubstantial*, although they heaped great Epithets and Titles upon the Son of God; and this seems the true reason why the Western Bishops rejected their Creed, though they might pretend they were not well skilled in their Terms and Propriety of the Language, and thereby put them off, referring themselves to the *Nicene* Council as sufficient without any new Glosses and Interpretations; but that their Ignorance in the Greek Tongue should be the only cause, as *Socrates* saith it was, is very improbable, the times were not so Illiterate, nor Intercourse betwixt the Eastern and Western Churches so stopt up, as to give the least countenance to such an Assertion. This Synod (to which assembled Bishops from almost all the East) was held Three years after the other, wherein were framed the Four Creeds, in the Eighth year of *Constantius*, *A. D.* 344. *Salustius Autor* and *Leontius* being Consuls.

At another Council at *Antioch* the *Arians* frame four new Creeds more.

Διὰ τὸ ἀλλόγλωσσον εἶναι, *vide Socr. l. 2. c. 19. Athan. de Synodis. Sozom. l. 3. c. 10.*

61. *Athanasius* all this while continued at *Rome*, where *Julius* the Bishop could do him little good for Three years together, nor *Paulus* the Elect of *Constantinople*, nor any of the Orthodox Party, though he espoused their quarrel and wrote into the East on their behalf. But now their Case became more understood by *Constans* the Emperour, who could not but take notice of all this noise

noise betwixt the Western and Eastern Prælates, and thereupon bethink of the Publick Peace, which is not sooner broke any ways than through Heats and siding about Religion, which were also more unseasonable at this time when the *Persian*, the Common Enemy from without threatened the Tranquillity of the Empire. This was a convenient Season for *Athanasius* to lay open his Griefs, being commended to the Emperour with all advantage possible both by *Julius* Bishop of *Rome*, and *Hosius* of *Corduba*, who also earnestly sollicited him about the calling of a General Council. Being sent for by *Constans*, he went to *Millain* where then the Court was, and he and his Friends so wrought that they obtained a Letter from the Emperour to his Brother *Constantius* about the Summoning of a Council. He shewed him the necessity of Summoning the Bishops of both Empires together, amongst whom there seemed to be difference both in matters of Opinion touching some Points of Faith, as also for Supremacy and Jurisdiction, he desired him to use his Power in getting together the Prelates of the East, who, that they might be the easilier perswaded, he nominated *Sardica* a City of *Illyricum* as very convenient scituate upon the Borders of both Empires, but more commodious for them, with whom he would take care that those of the West should meet at the time appointed. In the mean while was a Synod held at *Colein May* 11. against *Euphrates* Bishop of that City, who for denying the Divinity of Christ, with *Photinus* and *Marcellus*, was deposed by the unanimous consent of the Bishops of *Gall*, amongst whom *Athanasius* is said to have been present.

Athanas. ad Constantium. Soc. l.2.c.20. Soz. l.3. c.9.

A General Council at *Sardica.*

Conc. Tom. 1.

62. In the Eleventh year after the Decease of *Constantine*, and the Consulship of *Fl. Eusebius*, and *Fl. Rufinus*, in the Eleven hundredth Year of *Rome*, the Third of the 281 *Olympiad*, the Fifth Indiction, *A. D.* 347. there met (as *Athanasius* wrote) about Three hundred Bishops out of the West, and (as *Sabinus* counted) Seventy six out of the East, to the Council summoned at *Sardica*, amongst whom was *Ischyras* so often mentioned, whom the Deposers of *Athanasius* had preferred to the Title of a Bishop. The reason why no more met out of the Eastern Churches, though the place lay more convenient for them, and in the Territories of their own Empire, was despair of any Issue suitable to their former Atchievements. Some alledged infirmity of Body, and others complained of the shortness of time, blaming the Bishop of *Rome* for not letting them have more timely notice, whereas an whole Year and an half intervened from the Date of the Summons to the time of the Meeting. When the Council met, the *Arians* perceiving how things were like to go, withdrew to *Philippi* a City about a days Journey distant from *Sardica*, whence they sent to the rest frivolous Excuses why they could not be present, and withall signified that they could not joyn with them as long as *Athanasius* and *Paulus* Persons formerly condemned at *Antioch*, were permitted to sit amongst them. *Hosius* who præsided in the Council, sent them word that the Council was resolved, though in their absence, to proceed in the Examination of the Cause of these Bishops, and willed them to be present, that they might if they could make good those Charges against them, which never yet seemed justly proved, and prevent the Condemnation of themselves for their unjust Censures. This warning doing no good, the Orthodox Party fell to the Examination of Witnesses, and after a full and indifferent Hearing acquitted *Athanasius* and *Paulus*, restored them to their Churches, and inflicted upon the Contumacious Bishops the same Censures which they had formerly executed upon these Innocent Persons.

63. After this when it was moved that a New Confession of Faith should be framed, it was resolved in the Negative, forasmuch as Multiplication of Creeds would beget Confusion and Uncertainty, whilst variety of Terms and Phrases perplexed the Readers, who would not know where to rest, or wherein to fix, and by this means all those that followed might pretend to amend what their Predecessors had done, and so as well the *Nicene Creed* as others should be thought Insufficient and Imperfect. They resolved therefore to stand by the *Nicene Creed*, only for to prevent mistakes, to lay open the cunning of the *Arians*, and prevent their Subterfuges, they explicated (as some have written) the Clause of one Substance, and set forth the Hæresie of that Assertion *that the Son of God is not of the same Substance with the Father*. This they published in their Acts or a Narrative of their Proceedings, wherein also they shewed their Reasons why they acquitted *Athanasius* and the rest, with the causeless departure of the *Arian* Bishops, and their obstinate refusal to joyn with them. They in the mean time are not idle, but act quite contrary to the Proceedings, condemning

The Orthodox Bishops stick to the *Nicene* Creed.

But the *Arians* make a new one.

demning such as had absolved *Athanasius*, and *Julius* Bishop of *Rome* amongst the rest, and make a new Confession of Faith, against which the other had firmly resolved. By reason of this contrary proceeding of those several Parties, the Resolutions and Acts of this Council have been variously accepted and reported in latter times; many things being cited as Decreed by the *Sardican* Council, contrary to the Testimony of *Athanasius* himself, who had reason to know what passed, although St. *Augustin* and others grant those Decrees to have been of this Council; but except against it as Hæretical and *Arian*. So that great Confusion and uncertainty even in these times appears to have been amongst the best knowing in reference to this Council, which seizes *Baronius* with admiration. Many also since the time that he wrote, considering the Summons was universal, would gladly with him give it the name of a General or Oecumenical Council. But when they consider how it was divided into several Parties or Factions, how many guiltless were condemned, and how many guilty were acquitted by both Parties, and for these reasons of Ambiguity and Injustice, how the Orthodox for many Ages were shy of receiving any of its Acts as Authentical, they conclude that the Cardinal in giving so high a Title to this Synod, hath not at all advantaged the Opinion concerning the Infallibility of General Councils.

64. For they acquitted *Marcellus* of Hæresie laid to his charge by the *Arians*, from which Orthodox Antiquity is far from absolving him: And so uncertain were this Synods Determinations, that all Parties made use of them, and renounced them when it stood most with their own advantage, as *Baronius* himself instanceth in several Particulars. So that granting the Summoning of the Council to have been Oecumenical, yet if we call Antiquity to give Testimony, little of certainty can it produce upon which to found any Catholick Assertions, the Relations of *Athanasius* being most Authentick, which were as much known to others as us, and yet they follow other Authors. However as to Ecclesiastical Discipline these Fathers are said to have made One and twenty Canons; whereof the First upon the Proposition of *Hosius* taking notice how little good former Synods had done by their Prohibitions in this Particular, ordains that such Bishops as flitte and remove from one Church City or Diocess to another be Excommunicated even from the Laity; and the Second at the instance of the said Person decrees the same Censure to be inflicted, although they be sollicited to this remove by the Importunity of the People, which easily may be by Corruption wrought into such an humour. The Third Canon forbids that any Bishop remove out of one Province into another, except he be invited by his Brethren, and if any Bishop think himself agreived in any Cause determined by his Comprovincials, upon *Hosius* his motion, it was resolved he might appeal to the Bishop of *Rome*. Indeed his Reputation was not a little inhanced by his continuing Orthodox in those times of Trial. So that the Dignity of that City receiving fair advantage from these Controversies, whilst the *Arians* justly denied his right, yet the Orthodox might assert his capacity (not Authority) to determine their Differences. And hence were afforded Opportunities and Advantages for that Supremacy which vicissitude of times, and the comportment of Affairs suggested afterward to the *Roman* Prælates. But the Canons of this Council in behalf of the Bishop of *Rome* for the advancement of his Authority, the Fathers of the *African* Council universally assert to be Supposititious, who affirm in their Letters to the Pope that no such thing can be found in any Synod of the Fathers. Now had there been any such Canons, doubtless they could not have been ignorant of them.

At this Council at *Sardica* 21 Canons are made.

Dist.8. Male consuetudo.

6.q.4. Osius Episcopus.

65. Upon the motion of *Gaudentius* a Fourth Canon was made, which forbad the Ordination of a Bishop into his room, who being deposed, appealed to the Bishop of *Rome*, till the Matter was heard and adjudged by the said Bishop. The Fifth Canon at the instance of *Hosius*, takes care that in case one Bishop in a Province be remaining, wherein formerly were several, and this Bishop at request of the People, wanting Pastors, refuse to ordain any more, the neighbouring Bishops contribute their assistance to their just desire, and ordain them a Bishop. The Sixth expresly forbids the Ordaining of a Bishop for one Village or small City, to the care of which one Priest sufficeth, lest thereby the Dignity and Authory Episcopal incur contempt; which it seemed to have done by means of *Ischyras* whom the *Arians* had ordained Bishop, but to such a See as formerly did belong to a simple Parish, being not a Parish of it self, but a Village or Hamlet appertaining to another Town. The Seventh Canon gives liberty

Vide Whitakerum.

Dist.63. Qua.

liberty, in case of an Appeal, to the Bishop of *Rome*, the Appellant desiring it; to that Bishop to send those who may joyn with the other Bishops in judging the Appellant. The Eighth inhibits the Custom of Bishops flying to the Court, without the Commendation of their Brethren, or the Summons of the Emperour, whereby much Scandal had been lately given. The Ninth gives directions how a Bishop may send his Deacon to the Metropolitan, and he commend him to those Bishops where the Court resides. Or he may by his Deacon sollicite his Friends at Court if he have any. And if it be at *Rome*, the Synod orders that the Petitions be delivered to their most Holy Brother and Fellow Bishop of the *Roman* Church, who upon Examination finding them just and fitting, is to use care and diligence that they be conveyed to the Emperours presence.

66. At the instance of *Alipius*, it was by the Tenth Canon made Lawful for Bishops to betake themselves to the Court in behalf of Infants and Widows. But lest under specious Pretences such Liberty be abused, and such Scandal happen as formerly the Impudence of some had brought upon the Church; the Eleventh Canon ordains that such as should break the former bounds be deprived. And that this Canon might take effect, *Gaudentius* the Bishop further propounded, that such Bishops as lived in *Canali*, or the way of the publick Posts, should stop such of their Brethren as travelled towards the Court, and upon Examination according to the Merit and Purport of their business, either forbid upon pain of Excommunication, or allow their Journey, which was unanimously Decreed. Yet lest any should through Ignorance of this Canon be surprized, at the request of *Hosius*, the Twelfth Canon provides that such should have notice of it. Then forasmuch as great Inconvenience happened by the sudden Promotion of Persons to the Episcopal Function, and to prevent such damage as may happen to the Church by Novices, the Fathers agreed to a Thirteenth Canon recommended by *Hosius*, forbidding any to be made a Bishop *per saltum*, or except he had passed through the Offices of *Reader*, *Deacon* or *Priest*, whereby his Abilities and Virtues might be throughly known before his Præferment to so high a Calling. Because much Mischief and Scandal had happened by reason of the stay of Bishops out of their own Dioceses and Provinces too long a time; *Hosius* also advised the Fathers, that forasmuch as in a former Synod they deprived such Lay-Persons of Communion as should absent themselves for three Lords days or three Weeks together from Church in the Cities where they dwelt: the same might be Decreed concerning a Bishop, who without great necessity was absent from his Church that same space of time, and it pleasing them well, a Fourteenth Canon was framed to this purpose. For the further inlargement of which, a Fifteenth was added at the motion of the said *Hosius*, wherein is also contained, that a Bishop, if he cannot be in his own Territories, he ought to go to the next Church where there is a Priest, least he should pass over a Lords-day without going to Church at all; but he is so to order his business where his Revenues lye, that he be not absent from his Cathedral above three Weeks.

67. For the preserving of Peace and Concord *Hosius* procured the Sixteenth Canon, forbidding any Bishop to receive any Clerk into Communion, Excommunicated by another, upon pain of being Censured by a Synod. But lest through the passion and hastiness of any Bishop innocent Persons should at any time suffer; Power is given by the Seventeenth Canon to the Neighbouring Bishops to hear and determine such Matters, and severely to rebuke such as they should find to have carried themselves irreverently towards their Bishops. The Eighteenth at the motion of *Januarius*, forbids the enticing of Clerks from other Bishops, and Ordaining them in their own Diocess: Which *Hosius* found so reasonable, that by a Nineteenth Canon he obtained a Nullity decreed on the Ordination of Ministers, subject to other Bishops, performed without the consent of their Diocesans, with Admonitions and Censures to be inflicted upon the Ordainers. The Twentieth Canon renews former Decrees made against the stay and abode of Clerks, such as were Strangers, at *Thessalonica*. The Twenty First and last Canon at the motion of *Hosius*, but suggestion of *Olympius*; decreed that such as were Persecuted for the Testimony of a good Conscience, and for bearing Witness to the Orthodox and Catholick Faith, forced into other Cities, should be received with Humanity and Benevolence. And the whole Synod said, all those Constitutions, let the Catholick Church dispersed throughout the World receive; and all the Bishops which had met together from divers Provinces, Subscribed

scribed saith the Latin Edition of this Council to the Number of 121. But *Balsamon* in his Greek Copies hath no such Number, but writes that 341 Bishops met at *Sardica*, and Decreed those things, but in his Copies the Eighteenth Canon is wanting.

68. The Council of *Sardica* being broken up, and each one departed towards their proper Sees, great Outrages were committed by the *Arians*, against all such of the Orthodox party as they could light off; whereof *Athanasius* gives several examples. And such was the issue of this, as well as other Councils, that the breach was so far from being made up, that it was much more enlarged. For the East and Western Churches were, as *Socrates* telleth us, now divided, the place which severed their Communion, being the Mount *Tisucis*, between *Illyrium* and *Thrace*, where every of them among themselves, though they differed about the Faith, yet the quarrel being laid aside, Communicated together; but beyond that, there was no Communion of the contrary Parties. They were called Eastern and Western, especially out of the respect to the two Empires so Named; not upon any exact Geographical account: As if the North and South parts of the World might not justly challenge their Share in the Provinces; but the Church, as she took the Model of her Præcincts from that of the State, so herein also followed that Division of the Empires.

Ad solit.

The Church as the State divided.

l. 2. c. 22. qu.

In East and Western.

69. The determination of the Synod for restitution of the Bishops to their own Sees. Notwithstanding *Constantius* pursued the inclinations of the *Arian* Party, rather persecuting those that were already in, than restoring the ejected, till such time as his Brother *Constans* found himself more than ordinarily concerned. Having found that more difficulty than ordinary was made about *Athanasius* his return to his See, he sent for him from *Naissus*, whether he had betaken himself, and commanded him to abide at *Aquileia*, under his own Protection: Then wrote he to his Brother *Constantius*, more earnest Letters than formerly, minding how deeply the Honour of them both was concerned, in putting the determinations of that Council which had been summoned by their Joynt Authority to *Sardica*, to Execution; however he told him, that for his part he was very sensible, what ever he might be, of his duty in that particular, and being resolved effectually to prosecute that design, he advised him to regard his own Honour, and restore *Athanasius* and the rest to their places, if not, he told him he would in Person make an Expedition, and see them restored to their Sees, whether he would or no. Those Letters were sent with the determinations of the Council by two Bishops *Euphrates* and *Vincentius*, whom the Synod had chosen to go to *Constantius*, with whom *Constans* joyned *Salianus* a Count. Coming to *Constantinople*, and finding the Emperour was at *Antioch*, they Travelled thither, but before their arrival, their coming was known to *Stephen* Bishop of that City, who had been a Member of the *Arian* Conventicle at *Philippopolis*.

Constans sends to his Brother *Constantius* about *Athanasius* his return to his See.

Soz. l. 3. c. 19. Athanas. ad solitar. Theod. l. 2. cc. 9. 10.

70. He as well to frustrate their Errand, as to blast the reputation both of their Persons and Party, subborns a Rude young Fellow called *Onager* to bring a Common Strumpet into the Inn where the two Bishops lay, and privily convey her into their Chamber: The Villany was so far managed as to convey the Whore into the Room where *Euphrates* was then in Bed, *Vincentius* being also at his rest in an inner Chamber, and according to agreement, the Company ready at the Door entred the Chamber, and finding her there where they had put her, exclaimed abundantly, and a Tumult was raised: *Vincentius* upon this getting up, the Gates of the Inn were shut, yet *Onager* and other of the Clerks made their escape, but the Strumpet together with seven of the Conspirators they seized on, and carried them before the Magistrates, where upon Examination the whole Plot was discovered, which *Stephen* also the Bishop had not so much impudence to deny: Hereupon by command of the Emperour, such Bishops as then were at *Antioch* deprived him of his Bishoprick, into which was chosen one *Leontius*, a Man not much better, who had castrated himself, as it's said, that he might the more safely without scandal keep Company with a certain Woman whom he pretended to be a Virgin; and this Fellow they promoted expresly contrary to the first Canon of the *Nicene Council*.

The Messengers abused by the Villany of *Stephen*.

71. The Villany of *Stephen* had this effect upon *Constantius*, that considering with himself, how the *Arians* might have dealt in this sort with others of the Orthodox Party, it made him seriously to reflect upon the Contents of his Brothers Letters. Having viewed the determinations of the Council, and received the advice of his own Bishops, rather to permit the return of *Athanasius*, than Ingage upon his account in a War, now at such time as the *Persians* were upon the

Borders, he sent his Orders to his Lieutenants in *Ægypt*, not to molest those of his Party. His answer to his Brother was, that he was very ready to comply with him, in the executions of the Decrees of the late Synod; that he was not against the restitution of *Athanasius*, for whom he kept the Church of *Alexandria* vacant, to which he might return at his pleasure. *Athanasius* not knowing well how to trust to his Message, removed to *Millain*, where he received a Letter from *Canstantius* himself, wherein he tells him, that he commiserated his long Sufferings, that he had long e're this sent for him to *Constantinople*, but that he expected he should have made application to himself; which because he thought he had not done, rather out of fear than any neglect of his Person or Authority, he now out of his good inclinations to him, assured him the kindness unasked for, of restoring him to his Native Country, and his Bishoprick: When he demurred yet a little, as thinking if the Emperour had a real kindness for him, or intended him any good, he would rather have suffered him to take the nearest way by Sea to *Alexandria*, than call him to *Constantinople*, and thereby force him upon a dangerous Journey, wherein he might be way laid by his Enemies; a second Letter came, and a third, enforced by those of some Noble-men his Friends, and brought by a Priest and a Deacon, whom *Constantius* had sent to encourage him to the Journey.

Constantius his reply.

Vide Athan. & Socrat. l. 2. c. 23.

72. *Athanasius* hereupon betook himself to *Rome*, where advising further with the Bishop and his other Friends, they were clear for his venturing to *Constantinople*, and *Julius* sent by him Letters of Recommendation and Congratulation for his return to the Churches of *Alexandria*, to be seen in the History of *Socrates*. He took his way then to *Constantinople*, where when he found not the Emperour, he followed him to *Antioch*, and getting easily Audience, was received by him very Courtiously. He found the Emperour constant to what he had written, and when he laid open his Case, and the many injuries he had undergone, through the Calumnies of his Enemies, he seemed to acquiesce in what he said, and swore to him for the time to come, he would not harken to any complaints against him. His dispatch for *Alexandria* he obtained sooner through the jealousie of his Enemies, who knowing his parts, were unwilling he should contract any familiarity with *Constantius*, and his presence seemed mightily to encourage the Orthodox Party at *Antioch*, with whom he Communicated privately, refusing to joyn in the publick Worship with the *Arians*, who were by far the more prævalent Party in this City, and with whom the Orthodox Christians were forced to joyn, having no Liberty of Conscience as to Publick and Solemn Meetings. Yet through the connivance of *Leontius*, they had their liberty to honour the Son of God, according to their Profession; for when the *Gloria Patri* was Sung, and the *Arians* Phrased it *Glory be to the Father in the Son*, the Orthodox Christians would add, *and to the Son*, declaring that the same Glory was due to the Son as to the Father. But *Athanasius* considered his place and Sphear, and how to the sin of joyning with Hæreticks, he should add scandal and bad Example.

Ibid.

Athanasius returns.

73. The *Arians* being constrained to restore *Athanasius* in this manner, not only perswaded their Emperour to the policy of making a Virtue of necessity, but to make some advantage also out of so bad a bargain. This was by desiring of *Athanasius* at his departure, when they thought good Nature and Gratitude would work, he having his Letters to the Churches, and all he could desire; that those of the *Arian* perswasion might have some one Church wherein they might publickly meet at *Alexandria*. To which when he could not in a manner deny, he answered, as not presuming to disobey the Emperour, but made bold unto his desires, to return his humble Petition, that seeing there were many Christians in that City of *Antioch*, which also in some points differed from *Leontius*, that they by his Imperial favour might obtain the like Indulgence. *Constantius*, though he disliked the answer, was gravelled by the Equity of the proposal; and the *Arians* considering that by granting the request of *Athanasius*, they should loose more ground at *Antioch* than they got at *Alexandria*; the whole matter was waved and passed over in silence. And much more reason they had, if it be true what we have from *Socrates*, that his Petition extended to the Catholicks, dispersed all over, under the Government of *Arian* Bishops. But thus did *Constantius* restore *Athanasius*, abrogating what ever had been done against, and sent him away with three Letters Commendatory; two to the Church of *Alexandria*, and a third to the Governours of *Augustomnica*, *Thebais* and *Lybia*; wherein he commands that all that Communicate with him shall enjoy their full

And with the Emperour Letters goes to *Alexandria*.

Athan. Apol. 2. Socr. ubi supra.

full Franchize and Liberty; With him were several others restored, as *Paulus Marcellus*, *Asclopas* Bishop of *Gaza*, and *Lucius* Bishop of *Adrianople*; whom their several Churches were commanded to entertain.

74. *Athanasius* in his way homeward passed through *Syria* and *Palæstine*; and came to *Jerusalem*, where upon his desire, *Maximus* the Bishop called a Synod of Bishops out of *Syria* and *Palæstine*, by the decree of which he was received into Communion and restored. Now, as it ever happens to Men in Prosperity, he is courted on all hands, even by Enemies, *Ursatius* and *Valens* two of the most Factious *Arian* Bishops sending to beg his Pardon, and renouncing the Doctrine of *Arius*; which that they might seem to do Cordially they take a Journey to *Rome*, and make their Recantation before that Bishop, whom they thought for the Dignity of his See, and his Orthodox judgment, to have been most Eminent in the West, during those Controversies. But at *Alexandria* he is received with joy above the expression of Tongue or Pen, such as was manifested by publick Thanksgivings, Festivities, Feastings and other signs too pregnant to escape either to the view, or then envy of the *Arians*, who begin afresh to load him with Calumnies to *Constantius*. This they thought they might now do with the better success, because *Constans* the Western Emperour, his great Patron was e're this Murdered by the Treason of *Magnentius* and his Followers; who, to the great scandal of Religion, were the first Christian Rebels, daring to rise up against their Soveraign; a thing not once thought of by the Ancient Christians, though they groaned under the Persecution of Ethnick Princes. The Multitude of Orthodox Christians being increased at *Alexandria* at his return, and the Churches, where they usually met, being not large enough now to receive them, he was forced to make use of a large and stately one, built by *Constantius*, but not yet Consecrated; and this they interpreted as done out of pride or presumption, and in despight of the Emperours Authority, whom he would not deigne as much as to acquaint with his designed Dedication. They accused him also of holding intelligence with *Magnentius*, because that Usurper had sent certain *Italian* Bishops of *Athanasius* his Acquaintance on an Embassy to *Constantius*, whom in their Journey, taking *Alexandria* in their way, had been entertained by him; and they had laid to his charge that he had many times conferred Orders out of his own Diocess and Province, contrary to the Canons.

where he is received with all the joy imaginable.

But, is again Accused by the *Arians*.

75. Such were the difficulties that *Constantius* wrestled with at this time, having his hands full of *Magnentius*, and about to grapple with the *Persian*, that he thought it not seasonable to meddle with *Athanasius*, by disobliging whom he might procure to himself fresh troubles in *Ægypt*, a Country he knew to be much at the Bishops Devotion; instead therefore of bad Deeds, he gave him good Words, and thrice did he Write to him encouraging Letters, after the death of *Constans*, remembring it's probable what Promises and Oaths he had made to him. For two or three Years *Athanasius* remained in quiet at *Alexandria*, during which time *Maximus* his old Friend the Bishop of *Jerusalem* dyed, concerning whose Successors who were *Arians* a long time, there is great confusion amongst Writers, which *Baronius* attributes to the Strife and mutual Hatred betwixt the *Arians* themselves: For as it usually happens to all great Factions, that if they continue long, they part and divide asunder into lesser Divisions; so happened it amongst those Hæreticks, of whom some thinking more honourably of the Son of God than others, although they denied also his Consubstantiallity, yet coming nearer to the Orthodox Doctrine, were called *Semiarians*. But *Constantius* having extricated himself out of his former difficulties by the suppression of the Usurpers, returned to his wonted humour, receiving impressions as formerly from the *Arian* Bishops. E're his return to *Constantinople* he ordered *Philip* his Liuetenant to remove *Paul* the Bishop thence, and restore *Macedonius* to that See, who fearing a Tumult of the Citizens, sent for him privately and letting him down into a Boat, conveyed him secretly to the place of his banishment. This good Bishop having long run the Fortune of a constant Confessor, at last arrived at the Crown of Martyrdom, being first banished into *Pontus*, by procurement of *Eusebius* and his Party, then by *Constantius* into *Mesopotamia*, where he was kept at *Singra*, thence he was removed to *Emesa*, and thence to *Cucusus* a Town of *Armenia*, about *Taurus*, where he was strangled by the *Arians*. His Body *Theodosius* afterward caused to be translated to *Constantinople*, and Buried in the Church which had been built by *Macedonius* his Adversary, but was afterward known by the Name of *Paul*.

Maximus Bishop of *Jerusalem* dyes, and is succeeded by an *Arian*.

Paul of *Constantinople* banished, and afterward murdered by the *Arians*.

Athanas. ad solit. Socr. l. 2.

76. Things going thus with *Paul*, *Athanasius* his turn could not be far behind; but the *Arians* first use wiles and tricks before they come to force. *Ursacius* and *Valens*, who as we said pretended to be Converts, went to *Rome* to make their Submission and Acknowledgments to the Bishop. There they defie *Arius* and purge *Athanasius*; but for his greater Honour they advise *Julius* to call him to *Rome*, that his Virtue and Integrity might be the more apparent, and greater satisfaction might be given to the World; concluding with themselves, that this the Bishop would not refuse to do, it being an occasion of shewing his Interest, and getting Credit to his Authority; and that *Athanasius* would in vindication of just freedom as earnestly refuse to come, and so a breach would be made betwixt the two Orthodox Bishops and their Churches, at which the *Arians* might Triumphantly enter. *Julius* could not do this being prevented by death after he had sate in that See near Sixteen years. To him succeeded *Liberius* a *Roman*, who as some write, readily undertaking what he thought might make for the reputations of his See, Cited *Athanasius* to *Rome*, under pain of Excommunication. *Athanasius* though he had honoured the *Roman* Bishop, and in respect to his Faith more then the Dignity of his See, had given him the right hand of Fellowship, and willingly admitted him Umpire in those controversies betwixt him and his Enemies, yet he refused to obey his Summons (which seemed to be made Authoritatively) and thereby gives so dangerous a Præsident for the founding of an Usurped Supremacy.

Hilarii fragmenta. Bibliotheca patrum tom. 3. col. 125.

Julius the Bishop dyes, *Liberius* succeeds who cites *Athanasius* to *Rome*.

77. Upon this refusal *Liberius* proceeds to Excommunicate him as Contumacious, and receives the Eastern Bishops into Communion; which coming to the knowledge of the *Ægyptian* Prælates, they call a Synod of Eighty Bishops, wherein they resolutely defend *Athanasius*, maintaining his Cause against all, and confirm him in his See; which when considered by *Liberius*, he was ashamed of his inconsideration and præcipitancy. But these things made much for the *Arian* Party, being good præparatives for what *Constantius* had designed, to whom now they could Charactarize *Athanasius* as a Man so troublesome and turbulent, that even his old Friends the Western Bishops had forsaken him; *Constantius* having overcome his Enemies, and so proud of his success, that he ascribed that to himself which he would not allow to the Son of God, calling himself *Æternal*, and *our Æternity*, as a prælude to those sad Tragedies which followed, calls a Council at *Arles* by the advice of his Bishops, wherein *Athanasius* was Excommunicated. To this subscribed amongst the rest *Vincentius* Bishop of *Capua*, the Legate of *Liberius* Bishop of *Rome*, who now in his Letter to *Hosius* Bishop of *Corduba*, dislikes their proceedings. The Catholicks to divert them from their purpose, proposed first to handle matters of Doctrine, but *Valens* (who together with *Ursatius* his Companion had recanted his recantation,) and the rest withstood that proportion, and resolving at present to wave the matter of Faith, carried it for the condemnation of *Athanasius*, and of several others who were sent into banishment.

And upon refusal to come Excommunicates him.

Upon which *Constantius* summons a Councel at *Arles*, wherein *Athanasius* and others are sent in banishment.

78. This was a good Foundation for what was intended by the *Arians*, but whether this meeting was not solemn enough to carry a sufficient shew of reputation, or at the desire of *Liberius* and other Catholicks, another Council is summoned to *Millaine* the year following, where met of the Eastern Bishops but few, by reason of the length of the journey, but of the Western above thre Hundred, what the *Arians* wanted in Number was abundantly supplyed in the presence and Authority of *Constantius*, who committed the absoluteness of his Power into their hands, for ruin of the Orthodox Faith. They improved it so far as to depose all the Orthodox Bishops, of which were most notable *Eusebius* of *Versailes*, *Paulinus* of *Triers*, *Lucifer* of *Calarita* in *Sicilie*, and *Dionysius* of *Milan*, who that they might not by their presence in their several Countries, resist the Decrees of the Synod, were sent into banishment, where some of them were Murdered. *Liberius* being at *Rome*, thither the Emperour sent *Eusebius* the Eunuch his Chamberlain, both by fair and foul means to perswade him to joyn with the *Arians*, and when that would not do, sent for him to *Milan*, where they had a discourse recited by *Theodoret*, wherein the Emperour laboured by all arguments to draw him to his party; when he pressed him to subscribe to the Condemnation of the wicked Man (as he was pleased to call him) *Athanasius* whom he charged with Treason and Sedition, he refused to Condemn him as a Man unheard, and when he pressed him with the general practice of the World (which now ran all after *Arius*) he replied with an instance in those three Persons that withstood *Nebuchadnezars* publick Edict, and that his singularity (as he termed it) could

And another at *Millaine*.

There the Orthodox are banished and the *Arians* take their places.

L. 2. c. 16. Athan. ad solit & de fuga. Soc. l. 2. c. 36.

could not weaken the Truth he professed, so little was he moved by Arguments drawn from visibility. When he saw he could not prævail he banished him to *Berea* in *Thrace*; and in his place was put *Fælix* a Deacon of the *Roman* Church, as *Auxentius* into the See of *Milan*, both *Arians* we may easily believe, if we question not the cunning and Policy of that Party.

79. *Athanasius* his doom we may be sure was very heavy, when the Defence of him was a great part of the Crime for which these Bishops were so severely censured. By their endeavours to clear him *Constantius* was so inraged, that he published a most severe Edict against him, whereby Sentencing him to Death, he commanded he should be Executed wheresoever he was found, ordering the Churches of *Alexandria* to be delivered up to the *Arians*, whom he licensed to do even what they pleased. In pursuance of this Decree he sends down *Syrianus* a Captain with some Thousands of Men to *Alexandria*. The Inhabitants begged of this *Syrianus* that he would act nothing till they had sent a Message to the Emperour. He gave them both his Word and Oath, but a little afterward, he came upon them when they were not aware, being at Church, assembled with their Bishop upon an Holy Vigil, and purposing to spend that night in Devotion, being the next day to participate of the Holy Eucharist. He beset the Church round with his armed Men when it was now late at night, and breaking in, made most horrid slaughter of all Persons, no Sex Age or Quality considered. But he, whom they most aimed at, being earnestly besought to save himself by those about him, when they first perceived the Treachery, refused to make his escape, resolving to fare as the rest did, yet in the Crowd he passed through undiscovered, and by Gods great Providence got into the Wilderness. Thence he was minded to go to the Emperour and lay open his Case, before he perceived his settled Resolution for his Destruction, which being first apprehended by what Quarter the rest of his Brethren had in *Ægypt*, was fully confirmed to him by the Edicts set out against himself, whereby orders are given to apprehend him in all places, and reward offered to such as could produce him alive, or bring in his Head to the Magistrate. The *Alexandrian* Churches are commanded to look upon him no otherwise than as the Emperours Enemy, Penalties are inflicted on such as comfort, relieve, or harbour him. Thus had he no place wherein to rest in safety, all the World being as it were in Arms against this one Man. All Officers and Soldiers are to enquire for him, some hunt after the prey to obtain a reward, and others would purchase him with Money, that by such a Present they might procure Interest and Esteem. *But they are safe whom God keeps.*

Alexandria delivered to the *Arians.*

Athanasius condemned by the Emperour.

80. Though he escaped, so did not his Flock, which (though his Enemies objected his Flight against him) yet was better provided for by his removal, than possibly it could have been by his stay, which would have brought him to certain Destruction, whereas his Flight preserved him, and thereby secured his Abilities for a better time and further Service. Inraged at his escape, they revenge it to purpose upon his Friends and Followers in *Alexandria* and *Ægypt*. *Heraclius* a Count of the *Arian* stamp, with *Sebastian* an Officer, and a Manichee, executing to the full such Orders as they had received from the Emperour. Into the places of the exiled Bishops they thrust Men as despicable for Parts and Abilities, as Hæretical in their Judgments; and into the See of *Alexandria* one *George* lately come from *Cappadocia*, and as some have written originally of that Country, though *Ammianus* tells us he was born at *Epiphania* a City of *Cilicia*, in a fulling Mill as was reported. Indeed he is very often in antient Authors confounded with *Gregory* the *Cappadocian*, who being put into the place of *Athanasius* by the *Juncto* of *Antioch*, was deposed by the Council at *Sardica*, and died, as *Athanasius* writes, Ten Months after the finishing of that Council. The likeness of their Names confounded Transcribers, who often put the one for the other; they are said by some to have been Country men, they were both *Arians*, both great Adversaries of *Athanasius*, and Intruders into his See, and being great Persecutors of the Orthodox Christians of *Alexandria*, were both killed as some say by that injured and inraged People. It is necessary therefore to use great caution and distinction in the reading of Authors, who write of them both. But they may be sufficiently discerned from each other by what we have formerly said of *Gregory*, and what we now come to speak of *George*.

George supplies his place.

81. *Gregory*

His Character.

81. *Gregory* was of a Clergy-man made Bishop of *Alexandria*, but this *George* being a Lay-person, having knavishly discharged a sordid Sæcular Imployment, was thought good enough by the *Arians* for the Episcopal Function. *Nazianzen* tells us, that he was of a bad Stock, and worse Qualities, not at all endowed with ingenuous Knowledge, or affable in his Conversation, not so much as prætending to godliness, or cloaking his Villanies with specious Prætexts, yet fit for any bold Attempt, and a proper Instrument to disturb the Publick Peace. Such an one in his beginnings as might be properly termed a Parasite, haunting good Tables; all his Designs seeming to be laid for the filling of his Belly. His first Præferment was most base and sordid, being the Proveditor General of Hogs Flesh for the Army. And here, saith he, he left off his rogueing, and began his Villanies. *Athanasius* writes that he was a keeper of Provisions at *Constantinople*, where being found to have abused his Trust, and converted the Commodities to his own advantage, he was forced to run, and fled into *Cappadocia*. But it seems he was taken notice of for a subtile headed Man, and fit for business, and (being an *Arian*,) for such work as was to be done at *Alexandria*, which none but a Knave and Huckster would, and none but a cunning and resolute Fellow could, go through. Hereupon he was commended to *Constantius*, had his Peace begg'd, and was Ordained Bishop of *Alexandria*, where he must abolish the Memory of, and expiate his former Crimes, by the Service to be performed against the Orthodox Christians. *Orat. 21.*

82. Being put into Possession by the Emperours Officers in the time of Lent, he staid till the Week of *Easter* was past, and then began his Villanies. Then were the Sacred Virgins clapt in Prison, the Suffragan Bishops haled and tossed too and fro by the Soldiers, and the Houses of Poor and Rich pillaged and sacked. After the *Whitsun* Week the People assembling to the Celebration of a Fast, would not for all this be frighted into Communion with him, but refusing to joyn with him in the Holy Mysteries, gathered together in the Church-yard, which he understanding, procured that *Sebastian* to fall upon them, which he did, though on a Sunday as they were at Prayers. Enraged that he found but few, (for the hour being past, many were retired) he caused a Fire to be made, before which were brought the Virgins, and threatened with Death, except they would imbrace the Hæresie of the *Arians*. When he could not overcome them by the humour of the Fire, he stripped them naked, and caused them so to be beaten and buffeted, that scarcely could their Friends know them a long time after. Forty Persons he scourged so with the Twigs of Palm Trees newly cut, and having on their pricking knobs, that many lay long under the Chirurgions hands, and others died of their Wounds, whose Bodies they would not restore to their Friends, but let them lye unburied. Such as remained were banished together with the Virgins. This done to fright the Multitude, they proceed against their Faithful Pastors, that the Orthodox Doctrine might fail for want of Teachers, banishing several Bishops of *Ægypt*, and *Lybia*, mentioned by *Athanasius*, with certain Priests whom they handled so roughly, that some died in the Journey, and others in Exile. But above Thirty Bishops they made away.

The Cruelty of *George*.

Athan. de fuga & apud Socr. l. 2. c. 28.

Athanasius writes two Apologies for himself.

83. *Athanasius* escaping in the Wilderness there lay in great solitarinesS, but good security a long time, six years it is said, where he improved this sad opportunity in Writing several Treatises in his own Vindication, and for the strengthening of Orthodox Christians. Understanding that his Enemies calumniated him for flying, and leaving his Flock in time of danger, he wrote that piece concerning his Flight, wherein he proves it lawful to shun those imminent and certain perils devised for him, and clears himself of other Calumnies. And because not only the *Arians*, but the Emperour also, to prævent the censure of Cruelty and Injustice, had accused him of grievous Crimes, and given him the Character of a most profligate Person, he wrote another Apology to him, wherein he confutes those Slanders, relating in those two, and his Epistle to such as lived solitary Lives in the Wilderness, the whole Series of all those Sufferings and Troubles which he and the Orthodox Party underwent. But this last seems written after the Synod held at *Ariminum*, about which time he also wrote his second Apology to *Liberius* the Bishop of *Rome*, then restored to his Bishoprick. In the mean time, a year after the Synod held at *Milan*, a Meeting of the Bishops was summoned at *Biterris* a Town in *Gall* at the procurement of *Saturninus* Bishop of *Arles*, the Ring-leader of the *Arians* in those Parts, wherein *Hilary* Bishop of *Poictiers*, for his former refusal to joyn in Communion with the Hæreticks, and

At a Council held at *Biterris* *Hilary* Bishop of *Poictiers* is Banished.

Hil. Col. 286.

and for putting up a Bill against them at this time was censured and banished into *Phrygia*, the Faith of those, who formerly were zealous in their Profession, now waxed cold, and giving way to the great Deluge of *Arianism*, which out of the East bore down all before it even in the Western Countries.

Leontius of *Antioch* dies.

84. This same year died *Leontius* Bishop of *Antioch*, of whose Death when *Eudoxius* Bishop of *Germanicia* a City of *Syria* heard, being then at *Rome*, he desired leave of the Emperour (who now resided there, having triumphed over his Enemies) to return to his own Diocess, which he pretended had great need of his Ghostly Council and assistance. Coming to *Antioch*, by the assistance of those of the Emperours Chamber, he craftily insinuated himself into that See, and calling a Synod of Bishops, endeavoured to restore *Aetius*, who being formerly a Deacon in that Church, had, for his Heresie and Impiety by the *Arians* themselves, been Excommunicated. This Man being of mean Parentage, was in his Youth taught the Trade of a Goldsmith, afterward getting a smack of the liberal Arts, betook himself to *Paulinus* Bishop of *Antioch*, with whom he continued so long as the Bishop lived, but applying himself to fallacious ways of Disputing, and querks of Logick, he was by his Adversaries driven from that City, when *Eulalius* was Bishop, returning after the promotion of *Leontius*, he was made Deacon by him. Although he maintained the same things, yet did he separate himself from the *Arians*, because that after *Arius* his Perjury, they had received him into Communion, when he so lyed and dissembled with *Constantine* the Emperour. By reading the *Elencha* of *Aristotle* he got such a faculty of Disputing captiously, as amazed meanly intelligent Persons, and he would propound such Fallacies, as he himself through his half Learning of *Aristotle*'s Principles could not resolve. He had read over some of the Antient Commentators, but condemned *Clemens*, *Africanus* and *Origen*, as illiterate Persons. He would exclaim against the Divinity of the Son of God, because he could not understand how there was an unbegotten Birth, as he said, or how to imagine that the Begotten could be co-eternal with the Begetter. Incurring hatred with the Orthodox for those Opinions, and with the *Arians* for his conceited knowledge, he was further branded with the Title of Atheist. For he held, as *Epiphanius* tells us, that *the perfection of Man consisted in the knowledge of Divine things alone, without the accession of Virtue*, which he so far discarded, as he commended (instead of condemning) fleshly Lusts and Pleasures, affirming that Fornication and such unlawful acts, had no more hurt in them, than picking of the Ears, blowing the Nose, or other sorts of avoiding Excrements.

Is succeeded by *Eudoxius*.

Suidas.

Socr. l. 2. c. 35, &c.

Aetius and his Heresie condemned.

85. He esteemed himself of far greater Merit than *Arius*, and accordingly had the Honour of giving name to an Heresie as well as he, his Followers being after him called *Aetiani*, though he had the ill luck of breeding a Scholar, who so far it seems outstript his Master, that from his name *Eunomius* were they afterwards called *Eunomiani*. His great Abetter and Friend *Eudoxius* was so good a Proficient also in his Learning, that he had well nigh robbed him of his Glory. For priding himself much in being the Son of *Cæsarius* a Martyr of the lesser *Armenia*; he also improved his Interest and Reputation for the Cause Heresie and Impiety of *Aetius*, as well as his Person, and being both remarkable for Dignity and Luxury, his Companions and Followers, instead of *Aetiani*, came to be called *Eudoxiani*. But all he could do was insufficient for the recalling of *Aetius*, whom the *Arians* were resolved to Sacrifice to their Reputation, affecting much the Title of Catholicks, and thinking to escape the odious Imputation of Heresie, by subjecting those unto the Punishment who were scarcely their Superiors in the Guilt. But their Severity fell especially upon *Photinus* Bishop of *Sirmium*, who being formerly Principled by *Marcellus*, * maintained the Opinions of *Sabellius* the *African*, and *Paulus Samosatenus*, affirming, "That "God is one, and alone, and not subsisting in Persons: That Christ is a Man "begotten by a Man, and not from Eternity, being neither of the Substance of "the Father, nor altogether like him. That the Holy Ghost is God, and no "distinct Person. The *Arians*, though they held the Son of God to be but a Creature, and therefore their Opinion was a little more sound than his, yet shewing much Zeal for the Similitude of the Son of God, as if that would heal and make up all, procured *Constantius*, then at *Sirmium*, to call a Synod to that City.

And *Photinus*.

Epiphanius.

*Socr. l. 2. c. 29.

86. That

Several Anathematisms.

86. The Hæresie of *Photinus* being condemned, the Bishops drew up a short Form of Faith, to which they added those Anathematisms to comprehend as well that of his, and other opinions. "First, Those that affirm that the Son of things "which are not, or of any other substance, than of God the Father, let them be "accursed. Second, Or that there was Time or Age when he was not. Third, Or "that the Father and the Son are two Gods. Fourth, Or that Christ was God be-"fore all Ages, and yet the Son of God, did not with the Father make all things. "Fifth, Or that the Son of God, or any part of him is begotten of *Mary*. Sixth, Or "that the Son is born of *Mary*, according to the foreknowledge, and not before "all Ages begotten of the Father, and was with God, and that by him all things "were made. Seventh, Or that the substance of God may be dilated or con-"tracted. Eighth, Or that the Essence of God dilated makes the Son, or shall "call the Son as it were dilating of his Essence. Ninth, Or shall call the Son, the "Word of God seated in the mind of the Father, or the Word brought forth. Tenth, "Or that God Man is begotten of the *Virgin Mary*, understanding thereby, that God "is begotten. Eleventh, Or that shall expound these words [besides me there is "no God] to exclude thereby the only begotten, who is God from everlasting. "Twelfth, Or these [the Word made Flesh] to be transmutation into Flesh. "Thirteenth, Or by Crucifying the only begotten Son of God, shall understand, "that the Son of God did undergo Passion, Distruction, Change, Diminuti-"on, Annihilation. Fourteenth, Or that shall expound these words [let us "make Man in our own Image] as spoken by God the Father to himself, and not to "God the Son. Fifteenth, Or shall affirm that *Jacob* wrestled with God, as God, "or with God the Father, and not with the Son as Man. Sixteenth, Or whoso-"ever understandeth this, *the Lord rained from the Lord*, not to be meant of the "Father and the Son, but that the Father rained from himself.

Vide Socr. l. 2. 3. Soz. l. 4. c. 30.

87. Or Seventeenth, "Whosoever shall expound these Forms of Speech, the "Father Lord, the Son Lord, as if the Father being Lord, be both Lord and "Son. Eighteenth, Whosoever when he saith Lord of Lords shall thereby un-"derstand two Gods. For we do not place the Son, say they, in the same degree "with the Father, but we make him subject to the Father. Nineteenth, Who-"soever shall affirm the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, to be one Person. Twenti-"eth, Whosoever, when he calleth the Holy Ghost, the Comforter, shall thereby "mean God unbegotten. Twenty first, Whosoever saith there is no other Com-"forter beside the Son. Twenty second, Or that shall affirm the Holy Ghost to be "part of the Father and the Son. Twenty third, Or that the Son, as one of the "Creatures, is made by the Will of the Father. Twenty fourth, Whosoever "affirmeth the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, to be Three Gods, let him be accursed. "Twenty fifth, Or that the Son is begotten contrary to the Will of the Father. "Twenty sixth, Whosoever affirms that the Son had neither begetting, nor begin-"ning, and so consequently affirm, that there are two without beginning, and two "without begetting, and so appoint two Gods. The Son is the head and the "Original of all Creatures, and the head of Christ is God, for so we refer all "things reverently by the Son unto one principle of all things which is without "beginning. Lastly, Weighing deeply with our selves that clause also of Christian "profession, we say, that whosoever affirmeth Christ Jesus the Son of God who "Ministred unto the Fathers at the Creation of all things, not to have been be-"fore all Worlds, but only since the time that the Son was born of *Mary* to "have been Christ, and then his Deity to have begun, as *Paulus Samosatenus* was "perswaded, let him be accursed. This we have transcribed, that once for all it may appear how abstruse was the Hæresie of the *Arians*, how much it gave to the Son of God above other Hæresies, in allowing him a Deity, confessing his being before all Worlds, which the Father made by him; sometime, though not in the second Confession, they talk of Substance too and a perfect Similitude. But still they deny his *Consubstantiality*, that critical term which ever limits and determines their Doctrine, though it show never so high in the Epithets they give the Son of God. And not knowing what to say, or where to fix, they are guilty of prodigious uncertainty, whence so many Creeds and Forms of Faith, and so many Synods to make and marr, that Heathen Writers take notice of *Constantius* his Reign as very ridiculous in this respect.

88. *Photinus* was sufficiently censured, but this confession seeming too Orthodox, a second Model was drawn, wherewith the *Semiarians* were offended, for that the word *Substance* was left out, and meeting afterwards at *Anzyra* a City of *Galatia*, they condemned this Model, asserting the word *Substance*, wherein they affirmed

A difference amongst the *Arians* themselves.

affirmed the Son was like the Father. This was quite contrary to the Second Decree of them at *Sirmium*, who, as *Socrates* writes, after a long contention about the signification of the Greek word ὀυσία, and the Latin *Substantia*; about the equality or unity of Substance, resolved that the Church of God should no longer be troubled with the interpretation thereof; and that for two Causes, both for that the Scriptures of God make no mention thereof, and because the meaning thereof exceeded the capacity of Man; the Scripture testifiing, that no Man is able to set forth the Generation of the Son, in these words, *his Generation who shall declare*. This act therefore of the *Semiarians*, seeming so contrary to the publick Cause, another meeting was had at *Sirmium*, in the second year after, where the Parties to agree, came to a composition, that the one should leave out the word *Substance*, and the other yield this to be inserted in the room of it, *In all things like to the Father*; and accordingly a third Form was drawn up, to which *Constantius* forced some Dissenters to subscribe. Now *Baronius* refers the first meeting at *Sirmium* to the Twenty first year of *Constantius*, the 357. of our Lord, although *Socrates* and *Sozomen* place it in the year after the Consulship of *Sergius* and *Nigrianus*, which happened *A. D.* 351. He takes his argument from the Subscription of *Hosius* Bishop of *Corduba*, to the Decrees of this Council, and the banishment of *Athanasius*, which could not be before the Exile both of that Bishop and *Liberius*, as also from the presence of *Constantius* at *Sirmium*, which from *Ammianus* he gathers, fell out in this year. Others make there meetings held at *Sirmium*, viz. one *A. D.* 351. another the present 357, and another *A. D.* 359. Which produceth so many Forms of Faith, whereof the first was more tollerable, allowing the word *Substance*, but the Second utterly banished it, as never more to be used, and by the third they found a middle way, least *Satan* should be too much divided against himself.

Hil. de syn. Epiph. hær. 73.

L. 2. c. 03.

Jacobus Capell. ad A. D. 351. 357. 359.

89. But when the Second Confession came to be subscribed, *Hosius* Bishop of *Corduba*, an ancient and Valient Souldier of *Jesus Christ*, became a remarkable example of humane Frailty, who refusing to set to his hand, was by Scourging and racking at length compelled to it, though a few years after, as is probably conjectured, he died at his See in the Orthodox Faith. *Liberius* also Bishop of *Rome*, who formerly had stood out against Deprivement and Exile, was conquered with those Baciline Arguments of the *Arians*, and subscribed both to the Confession of Faith, and the banishment of *Athanasius*. The Cardiual Annalist labours hard to clear St. *Peter*'s Chair from the guilt and scandal of Hæretical pravity, telling us, that it was the first Confession of Faith to which *Liberius* subscribed, wherein was contained the word *Substance*, and that having nothing but Orthodox in it, according to the natural signification of the words, he was not obliged to consider what might be the meaning of the *Arians*. He endeavours to render invalid, what ever may make him guilty of Hæresie, by ascribing to the sophistication and Tricks of the *Arians*, whatsoever is found to his disadvantage in the writings of the Orthodox. But there are others, who from the credit of such Authors, as they conceive were never tempted to Lye, do much otherwise conceive of this action of *Liberius*. For *Felix*, who had succeeded him after his banishment, perceiving himself to be mortally hated for his *Arianism*, and that none upon that account would Communicate with him; that he might ingratiate himself with the People, thundred out *Anathema's* against the *Arians*. *Liberius* perceiving this, when he was not only threatened with the extremity of Torments, but saw there was hopes of recovering his Bishoprick, by complying with the Times, wrote Letters full of flattery to the *Arians*, calling them the Sons of Peace, and both condemned *Athanasius*, and subscribed to the Second Confession of Faith made at *Sirmium*, hereby he recovered his Bishoprick, thrusting out *Felix* as an intruder, whom he caused to be starved to death: Upon which account *Hilarius* grieviously reprehended and Anathematized him, and *Felix*, (though upon another account saith *Baronius*,) was accounted a Martyr. The first that debaucht *Liberius*, was one *Fortunatianus*, as St. *Hierome* tells us.

Hil. frag. Martyrol. Rom. Jul. 29. Athan. ad solitarios.

De. Scrip. Ecclesiast.

90 But *Constantius* the Emperour, understanding what *Edoxius* the Bishop of *Antioch* had done, both in reference to the Bishoprick, and *Ætius*, wrote unto the Inhabitants of that City against him, as one who had crept into that See without his knowledge and consent; and as to the Hæresie of *Ætius*, thinking he had not yet sufficiently provided by the late Transactions at *Sirmium*, he resolved to call

Soz. l. 4. c. 13. Theod. b. l. 2. c. 26.

 another

another Council: Being so resolved, he was perswaded by the Favourers of *Eudoxius*, to summon the Bishops to *Nice*, thinking, it seems, that this City, being as yet famous for the late Council thither assembled, would obliterate that Creed, and give reputation to his Hæresie, by obtruding that for the Orthodox Faith; but afterwards the Emperours mind changed, and it was summoned to *Nicomedia* a City of the same Province. Here, when they should assemble, so great an Earthquake happened, that it destroyed well nigh the whole Town, and this constrains them to think again of *Nice*. But hither also the Earthquake comes, and so prevents them, that they know not whether to turn themselves. Some from St. *Hierom* gather that thence, the Assembly was removed to *Ancyra*, whither when the Prælates were travelling, *Hilary* wrote his Book of Synods in *Phrygia*, wherein he bewailes the backsliding of those times, which he affirms to be so great, that in Ten Provinces of *Asia* scarcely was one Bishop to be found who knew and feared God. And now it was, that the *Samiarians* might make their protestation against the Second Form of Faith, agreed on at *Sirmium*. But the favourers of *Eudoxius* and *Ætius* perceiving things to go too favourably in behalf of the Catholick Cause, the word *Consubstantial* being only wanting to joyn to it, the *Semiarians* obtained of the Emperour that two places should be appointed for the Eastern and Western Bishops to meet at. The pretence was, that both sorts might have the more convenience of Travel; but the design, that they might not be united in one Body, for then they feared the Orthodox Party would be prævalent; but being divided into two Assemblies, divers forms of Faith and Decrees might pass them, whereof they doubted not, but some they might either easily draw or wrest to their purpose. In these changes and removes was spent this year, which was the Twenty Second of *Constantius*, the Fourth of *Rome*, the first Indiction. *A. D.* 358. *T. Fabius Decianus*, and *Naratius Cerealis* being Consuls.

Another Council held at *Ancyra*.

An Assembly held at *Seleucia*.

91. The places determined for the Eastern Bishops, was *Seleutia*, a City of *Isauria*, and for the Western *Ariminum* in *Italy*, where Four Hundred Prælates, some say Six hundred assembled. But first this same year which was the Twenty third of *Constantius*, was the third Creed made at *Sirmium* (as we formerly hinted) on the Twenty second of *May*, where after great Contests, the Parties agreed to leave out the word *Substance*, upon condition, that Christ might be said in all things *like* the Father, which held them in dispute till the very Night preceeding the Feast of *Whitsuntide*. The Emperour *Constantius*, who was present at the making of this Confession, six days after, sent it away to *Ariminum*, where the first Session was held on the Twenty first of *July*. There assembled so many of the Orthodox Party, that do what the *Arians* could, they carried it quite for the recognition of the *Nicene Creed*, and Condemnation of *Arius*, and his Doctrine, rejecting besides all others Forms and Confessions of Faith, this new one come from *Sirmium*: And they deposed *Valens* and *Ursacius* the Ringleaders of the Hætetical Party, together with *Auxentius Germanius*, *Caius* and *Demophilus*, because they refused to joyn with them. These Men who were wont to carry all before them, because backed with the Emperours Authority, in a great fume post to him, to whom they lay open the danger of further troubles, after that the Council at *Sirmium* had taken so hopeful a course for the peace of the Church, which those Men leavened with the Principles of *Athanasius*, went about again to disturbe. The Council sent also their Messengers to the Court, desiring, that having dispatched those matters for which they were called, they might have leave to depart to their own Sees. *Constantius* was about this time moving Eastward against the *Barbarians*, who broke violently into the Empire, and therefore telling them he could not at present attend those Controversies, he appointed them to expect his return at *Adrianople*.

Socr. l. 2. c. 39.

Socr. ut rep. c. 36. Soz. c. 28. Theod. c. 19.

The *Arians* meet at *Nice* in *Thrace*, and make a new Creed.

92. The *Arians* in the mean time met at *Nice* in *Thrace*, where they drew up another Form of Faith, like unto the third made at *Sirmium*, leaving out both *Substance* and *Consubstantial*, and in some of them, *in all things like*, putting *like* only. *Socrates* tells us, that *Ursatius* called this Assembly together, and therein publishing that Confession read in *Ariminum*, and forged at *Sirmium*, afterward set it forth as agreed to by a General Council, gave it the Name of the *Nicene Faith*, to the intent, that using the Name of *Nice*, he might ensnare the ignorant and simple sort of People, who verily thought it the same Creed which had formerly been Composed at *Nice* in *Bithynia*; till at length the treachery of these Deceivers was

was discovered, and the Imposture derided. This same Author writes, that the Bishops at *Ariminum*, having answered the Emperours Letter, wherein he signified his pleasure that they should abide there till his return from the War, departed all to their own Sees. But *Sulpicius Severus* (who as he saith himself, had the knowledge of what passed in this Synod, from *Gaudentius* a Bishop) reports, that *Constantius* having dismissed the Messengers of the Council, who being young, unlearned, and imprudent, were drawn in to subscribe the Creed of *Sirmium*, gave order to his Præfect not to suffer the Fathers to depart from *Ariminum* till they had also subscribed the same Confession. At first they refused to Communicate with their Apostate Messengers; but old Age, the cold of Winter, want of Necessaries, with threats of Tortures, so changed, if not broke them, that all in a manner subscribed, and twenty who remained, were entrapped by *Valens*. Being allowed to add what protestation they pleased, he joyned to their Protestation, *that Christ was not a Creature, as the rest of the Creatures*, whereby he meant, though they perceived not his drift, that *he only was a Creature, though more excellent and perfect, as the rest*. When they had received and admitted this Clause, *Valens* and his Companions triumphed, saying, they had not affirmed the Son of God, not to be a Creature, but only the most Excellent of Creatures, and herein like the rest. Now carried they all before them, insomuch that the World groaned, and admired to see it self all turned *Arian*. And from those so contrary proceedings of this Council, it came to pass, that somtimes it is imbraced by ancient Catholicks somtimes it utterly rejected as Erronious and Hæretical.

Sub. finem lib. 2.

Ingemuit totus orbis & Arianum secesse miratus est. Hieron. ad Lucif.

93. No better was the conclusion at *Seleucia*, where a Synod of about 160. Bishops was opened on the Twenty seventh of *September*. Here the *Arians* themselves were divided into two Factions, whilst some would have matters of Faith first handled, and others would take into consideration the Cases of Criminals, (whereof several, out of fear, pretending frivolous reasons, staid at *Seleucia*) both Parties alledging the Authority of the Emperours Letters, which were Ambiguously written. Some cryed out against the making of new Forms of Faith, approving, as a Pattern, that which had been formerly drawn up at *Antioch*, at the Encænia or Dedication, which being to be subscribed, the other Party headed by *Acacius*, who had importuned them to abolish the *Nicene Creed*, and make a new one, would not subscribe themselves but by their Deputies, the Deacons, and Readers. This was done the first day of meeting, the Doors of the Church being fast locked, against which *Acacius* afterward protested, and by the assistance of *Leonas* a great Courtier, (who præsided by the Emperours order) having got the Factions again together, when they thought he was about to read somthing else, produced a Creed with a Præface to it. Herein after he had inveighed against his Adversaries, he rejects quite the clauses of *Unity and Equality in Substance*, both as having no ground in Scripture, and as the occasions of great Contentions, yet withall accursing the Clause of *Inæquality*, and holding all the Patrons and Favourers thereof as Excommunicated Persons. When he had said, *Sophronius*, Bishop of *Pompeiopolis* in *Paphlagonia*, told him plainly, that if the new devices and daily invention of his brain were laid down for Creeds, it could not otherwise fall out, but that shortly they should be found without one grain of Faith. In his Creed he had affirmed the Son of God to be *like* his Father, in the midst of disputation he was asked wherein? To which he answered, that the Son was *like* the Father, not *in substance*, but only in Will and Mind, to which when it was replied, that in Books by him formerly written, he had held the Son to be *in all things like* the Father, he returned this answer, that no Man that ever was, of old time, or of late days, is wont to be tryed by the Books he wrote. To such prodigious incertainty and inconstancy doth Heresie subject Mens minds. One while the *Arians* admit *substance*, somtimes not, one while *like in all things*, another only *like*, somtimes any thing but *Consubstantial*, other whiles scarcely any thing at all will be admitted.

Vide Soc. l. 2. c. 39. 40. gr. ex Sabino.

94. *Leonas* provoked by those Dissentions above all patience, refused flatly to præside any more, and dissolved the Council, permitting them yet amonst themsevles to meet in the Church where the *Samiarians* assembling, deprived *Acacius*, with *George* of *Alexandria*, and others of his Party. Deposing amongst the rest, *Eudoxius* of *Antioch*, they placedone *Arianus* in his See, whom after his Consecration, their Adversaries procured *Leonas* to banish, against which proceedings, after they had in vain protested, they sent ten Messengers to plead their Cause

before the Emperour. Thus much writes *Socrates* of this Council, who speaks of it as Composed altogether of *Arians*, whereas *Hilary* in his Book against *Constantius*, makes mention of the Bishops of *Ægypt* their standing fast to the business of one Substance, all except *George* their Metropolitan. He explains further the meaning of *Acacius* his Creed, which rejecting both Consubstantiality and likeness of Substance, yet withall condemned Dissimilitude in the Son of God. For although they allowed him not to be like God as God, yet seeing he was the Son of his Will, rather than the Divinity, they allowed him like to his Father as such. But in that they held him neither to be God, nor begotten of the Substance of the Father, therefore they would not admit of the likeness of Substance. And here they disputed that in God there could be no Generation, because there was no Female, and they proceeded to such irreverent Terms as justly offended all Godly Ears.

95. But though the *Semiarians* had dispatcht their Messengers to the Emperour, *Acacius* was got before them, and so told his Tale, that *Constantius* who ever inclined to the worst and most rigorous Party, espoused his Quarrel. Yet must another Synod be called at *Constantinople*, whither were summoned out of the neighbouring *Bythinia* about Fifty Bishops, and a new Creed must be formed, wherein were abolished as formerly the word *Ousiæ* or *Substance*, and the Subsistence of Father, Son and Holy Ghost, forbidden once to be named. Having subscribed this Creed, they took the several Causes of Bishops into Consideration, but first after much Disputation condemned *Aetius* the Arch-Hæretick. Then proceeding against such as they hated upon the account of private Grudges, in the first place they deposed *Macedonius* Bishop of *Constantinople*, partly because upon his account some Slaughter had been committed, but indeed to revenge the Emperour of him who sought an occasion to do him a mischief; it was also objected against him that he had admitted into Communion a certain Deacon taken in Adultery. They deposed also *Basilius* or *Basillas* who had succeeded *Marcellus* in the See of *Ancyra*, for tormenting a Man, for forging Slanders, and disparaging divers Persons, but indeed for that he withstood them so earnestly, being one of the Messengers sent from *Selencia*. After this, as well they that came from *Selencia* as those that from elsewhere were assembled at *Constantinople*, were commanded by the Emperour to subscribe that Creed which was lately sent from *Ariminum*, though different from the other of *Constantinople*, and to be observed in the West as this in the East. So dreadful was the condition of the Church at this time, whilst every year produced almost a new Creed, and by virtue of those, all Churches were so disturbed, as neither could they know what to believe nor any Pastor left to teach them, such changing and rechanging of Bishops happened in every Province. *Socrates* in admiration of this number of Creeds, reckons up how many had been made since the Council of *Nice*. After that made by the *Nicene* Council, saith he, the Bishops framed two others at *Antioch* when they assembled to the Dedication of the Church. The Third was made by the Bishops in *Gall*, which were with *Narcissus* who exhibited it to the Emperour *Constantius*. The Fourth was sent by *Eudoxius* to the *Italian* Bishops. Three were in Writing published at *Sirmium*, whereof one being gloriously set out with the Names of the Consuls was read at *Ariminum*. The Eighth was published at *Selencia* by the Complices of *Acacius*. The Ninth was this set forth at *Constantinople* with this addition, that thenceforth there should be no mention made of the Substance or Subsistency of God. Whereunto *Ulphilas* Bishop of the *Goths* then first subscribed, having till this time imbraced the Faith established by the Council of *Nice*, and been an earnest Follower of *Theophilus* his Predecessor, who was at that Council and subscribed the Creed.

Soc. l. 2. c. 41. gr.

Theod. l. 2. c. 27.
Soz. l. 4 c. 23, &c

Another Synod at *Constantinople*, and a new Creed.

Soc. ibid. c. 42.

Ut suprà c. 41.

How many Creeds were made since that of *Nice*.

96. *Hilary* Bishop of *Poictiers* incensed against *Constantius* for those things, when he was now in Exile, wrote bitterly against him, which notwithstanding for reasons of State, the Emperour sent him hence to his own Bishoprick. *Macedonius* being banished *Constantinople* and succeeded by *Eudoxius*, (who had formerly intruded into the See of *Antioch*,) now at length began to magnifie the clause of one Substance, but denied to the Holy Ghost the Honour of partaking thereof, together with the Father and the Son, affirming he was a Creature, and one of the Ministring Spirits, being only in Degree and Dignity above other Angels. The *Arians* gladly imbraced this opinion, being so consonant to their own, that the noise of Contention about the Son of God, and the busying their

Soc. l. 2. c. 45.

their brains about that Hæresie, seemeth indeed the only cause why we hear no more of this. Into the See of *Antioch* after the removal of *Eudoxius* was elected both by the Orthodox and *Arians*, *Meletius* formerly Bishop of *Sebastia* in *Armenia*, each Party having a confidence in him, though he had formerly subscribed the Form of Faith which *Acacius* his Party framed at *Selencia*. For some space after his Translation he meddled not with any Mysteries of Faith, but preached to his People such Doctrine as conduced to Virtue and a good Life; but afterwards he pressed them to the belief of the clause *of one Substance*, and to adhere to the *Nicene* Creed. Herewith the *Arians* much inraged, complained to the Emperour, who being then at *Antioch*, as well for this as other reasons, another Council was called. *Socrates* writes that the Faction of *Acacius* procured it, that they might have an opportunity of renouncing the Opinion they had formerly held, that the Son is in all things like the Father. After the deposition of *Meletius*, whom the Emperour banished, *Euroius* (who formerly had been deposed, together with *Arius*) was by his order promoted to the Church of *Antioch*.

97. The *Arians* met together cannot but fall upon Matters of Faith, and it pained them to think of breaking up without the Production of a new Creed. They call in question what they had Decreed in time past, they affirm that the Clause of Likeness passed the Synods of *Ariminum*, and *Constantinople*, is quite to be abandoned, and not once to be named any more; they now think it time to speak plain, and no more conceal their opinion that the Son is altogether unequal and unlike the Father, not only in Substance but also in Will, as also that, as *Arius* braved, he had his Original from nothing. They were therefore from holding this Hæresie, that the Son is unlike the Father called *Anomius*, and from maintaining him to have proceeded from nothing named *Exucontius*. And so fruitful is Hæresie of other monstrous Births, that from the Hive of *Arius* proceeded many other Swarms, distinguished either by the names of their Leaders, or the particular ways and methods which they took, as the *Eusebians*, *Photinians*, *Eudoxians*, *Acacians*, *Eunomians*, *Macedonians*, *Aetians*, *Psatyrians Cyrtians* and *Dulians*. But when it was demanded of those *Acacians* why formerly they had given Christ the stile of God of God, that professed they meant it in that sence the Apostle wrote, when he saith all things are of God. And therefore the Son is of God, inasmuch as he is included in the word *All*, for which cause they added in their Creed, *According to the Scriptures*. The Author of this Foolish Gloss was *George* Bishop of *Laodicea*, with whom the *Acacian* Faction joyning, though they were soundly charged with Sophistical dealing, yet weighed neither the Scandal nor the Censure. They repeated again the Form of Faith composed at *Constantinople*, which being done every one departed home.

An account of several Hæreticks.

98. Such was the liberty which this prophanely conscious Age took to it self, of prying into the Mystery of the Holy Trinity, that innumerable were the Hæresies it produced whilst such as were out of the way never could agree to walk together, and almost every particular Man made choice of a peculiar Path: Some that agreed to the clause of one Substance, yet fancied strange things as to the Incarnation, concerning which another Hæresie was about this time broached by one *Apollonanus* a Priest, and a Son he had of the same Name. These two using too much the Familiarity of *Epiphanius* the Sophist, when upon admonition they would not forbear his company, *George* Bishop of *Laodicea* fearing least they might by his means be drawn to Paganism, Excommunicated them both. Discontented hereat, or as some wrote, being scandalized with the *Arian* Doctrine of the Bishop, they fell off from the Church, and being not heeded, endeavoured to establish a new Doctrine. First they taught that God the word was Incarnate, without a Soul in a meer Body, again recanting the same, they affirmed, that he took a Soul, yet not the Mind nor Reason, but that the Godhead supplied the place thereof. Secondly, That he brought that Body with him from Heaven, and made it of the same Substance with his Divine Nature, and that this Body, when it came on Earth, was passible visible and mortal. Thirdly, That Sin is part of a Mans Essence, and therefore if Christ had been a perfect Man, he must needs have been a Sinner. But besides those a worse Sect arose in *Mesopotamia* about this time, from their Praying and Devotion called *Massalani*, *Spirituales*, and *Euchaitæ* or *Præcatores*, the Founders of the Sect

Soc. l. 2. c. penult. Greg. Nazianz. Ep. ad Nectarium Basil. ep. 7. Hieron in Catal. Ruffin. Soz.

Epiph. hær. 80.

Theod. l. 4. & 6.

Sect being certain Monks who lived in the Deserts of that Country. They placed all Religion in Praying, misled by a misunderstanding of that of the Apostle, *Pray without ceasing*, esteeming all other Offices of Devotion, Piety, and Virtue, as useless and unnecessary. They held that every Man had a Devil in him, even the Apostles themselves, which can no otherwise be ejected, than with this Spiritual Engine; that every Man had two Souls, whereof one more than Cælestial, and that by this, even with their bodily Eyes they were capable of beholding the Blessed Trinity. They prætended to strange Revelations, whereby they attained high Perfection, even as high as Christ himself, as also to triumph over Devils, upon which account they were called *Enthusiasts*. *Damasc. hær. 80*

99. But a Covetous Devil so far possessed them, that they denied any Almes ought to be given to any other, but themselves, because they were the truly poor in Spirit. They held it lawful to swear, and forswear, and taught Children, that it was lawful to disobey their Parents, so that the Gift or Corban were but brought into their Box. They pretended to Perfection in this Life, to so high a degree, that they could be impeccable in thought; had a strange fancy concerning Spiritual Purgation, as if a Sow and Pigs were seen to go out at a Mans Mouth; and visible Fire, yet without the Propriety of burning, to enter in. Such a virtue they made in Prayer, that it thrust out Devils in Excrements, through the Mouth, and other parts, being quite contrary in this opinion to the Doctrine of other Monks in *Ægypt* about the same time, who refrained from avoidance of all Excrements, as a Sin, because Christ said, that *those things which come out of a Man, defile a Man*, never considering the Explication of the Text, in which respect they condemned Marriage. So strangely did the Spirit of Error possess Monks at this time, who by their Devotions and Solitary Life, contracted as much of Spiritual Pride, as Melancholly, that some would, as too Holy, pray with no others, and therefore both celebrated, though Lay-men, Holy Offices, and Ordained themselves Bishops, others castrated themselves, some Rebaptized such as turned from *Arianism*, and others behaved themselves suitably to those Extravagancies as *Epiphanius* hath related.

100. So fruitful was *Constantius* his Reign of Heresies and Schisms, that the Church could scarcely perceive her self free from those Calamities which the præceding *Pagan* times had inflicted. For though her Sufferings from without were removed, yet she laboured under such inward Pressures, as almost equalled her former Troubles. Her best and most genuine Sons being so roughly handled by those who challenged the same Original, that she seemed even to slight the Friendship of the Scepter, which had defended her indeed from her sworn and protested Enemies, but had still kept her Eyes as moist as ever, by assisting her false, though highly prætending Friends, in the Persecution of those most dear unto her. Her cries were at length heard, and his days were accomplished, who was the furtherer of her sorrow. For *Constantius*, who had so long robbed the Son of God of his Glory, was now well nigh deprived of his own Earthly Diadem, and although he escaped Deprivation, yet it was by no less charge and price, than of his own Life, giving place to him who had sought it, and unwillingly resigning his Seat to that Person, for whom, he had in his thoughts designed no other Mansions, than those of the dead. He according to the depraved Custom of those times, deferred also his Baptism to his death, and then receiving it at the Hands of *Euzoius* the *Arian* Bishop of *Antioch*, sealed as it were that Doctrine at his end, which he had so much defended in his Life. Yet did he much advance the common name and Interest of Christianity, improving his Power and Authority for the Suppression of *Pagan* Superstition, and carrying on that Reformation which his Father so happily had begun. This because the continued Series of those *Arian* Controversies permitted us not hitherto to describe, we shall now see what Laws he made in reference to Religion. For by them the State and Condition of times is more fully known, than otherwise. Particular Relations of private Persons may fail, their discovery being more uncertain, their Fear, Affection, and other Impediments more prævalent. But from the nature and course of the Remedy, we may best distinguish and judge of the Distemper.

Constantius being baptized by *Euzoius* the *Arian* Bishop of *Antioch*, dies

101. And

His Laws Ecclesiastical.

101. And the first we shall take notice of is that Crime of Adultery, a Sin, which because such, it concerned Magistrates to prevent as Christians, and because of such a nature as to confound genitures, and procure so great Thefts and Robberies, as of whole Inheritances, it behoved them to prevent, as Fathers of their Country. The Emperours therefore, in the Third Year of their Reign, and the Consulship of *Constantius* and *Valens*, by a (*a*) Constitution, inflict death upon Adulterers as Sacrilegious against Marriage, not fearing the censure of Hæresie for so doing, which had they lived in the time of (*b*) *Binnius*, they had certainly incurred. This same year they (*c*) forbid Christian Women to marry with Jews, as thereby casting themselves into great Temptations. And by another (*d*) Constitution, taking care lest incestuous Marriages, a thing too frequent in those days, should defile the Christian Faith, they forbid that any Man Marry his Brothers or Sisters Daughter. Perceiving how Religious Zeal is apt to run into the other extream, that whilst it mends, it is always thereby apt to marr, and to change Superstition for Sacrilege, Desolation, and Rapine, in their Fourth Year, and the Consulship of *Acyndinus* and *Proculus*, they were constrained to obviate that humour which ever rages in Reformations. Christianity now having spread far and wide throughout the Empire, and Christians incouraged by the Profession of Princes, very zealously opposed whatever they thought tended to Idolatry, and therefore having in their Grounds many Sepulchres Consecrated, as was the Custom of old to the *Dii Manes*, those without any regard to the Memory of their Ancestors, or Piety to the Dead, they did not only demolish, but convert all Ornaments of Sepulchre to vile and base uses. To stop therefore this current, and to prevent the objection of Pagans, that Christianity divested its Professors of Humanity, (*e*) a Law was made at *Milan*, against such who should violate those Monuments of the Dead, and convert the Marble and Pillars thereto belonging to other uses.

(a) *Cod Theodos. l. 11. c. 36. §. 4.*

(b) *Adulteros morte mulctari debere docere, non modo notoriam injustitiam verum etiam hæreticam doctrinam esse. Binnius in notis ad Concil. veneticum.*

(c) *C.Th.l.16. tit. 6. §. 6.*

(d) *C.Th.l.3. tit. 12. §. 1.*

(e) *C. Theod. l. 1. & 2. de sepul. violand.*

102. Neither could the Heathens take any incouragement hereat, whilst a distinction was made betwixt Superstition and Irreverence. Indeed notwithstanding what had been done by *Constantine*, and the discouragement given by the present Princes, yet very many, and those of the greatest Ranks, as Senators, and others, were both at this time Pagans, and continued such a long time after. But that by degrees the work might be brought to perfection, *Constantius* in the Fifth Year of his Reign, and the Consulship of *Marcellinus* and *Probinus*, Enacts a (*a*) Law against Idolaters, which forbids all sorts of Persons to offer Sacrifice. This notwithstanding, the old Inhabitant was so unwilling to be dispossessed and spoiled of his Goods, that Five Years after, there was need of another Edict, (*b*) whereby the Emperours *Constantius* and *Constans* command the Temples of *Pagans*, which stood within the Walls of Cities, to be shut up, not thinking it fit to proceed further, but permitting those that stood without, to remain in the same condition as formerly. Yet this Constitution seemeth to have had this effect, that the Year following the ancient Centenary *Sæcular Games*, of which we have already spoken largely, were not celebrated, the *Pagans* it seems being discouraged, or fearing to be hindred, if they went about it. Notwithstanding what *Constantine* had done, for the incouragement of the Clergy, in freeing them from publick Offices of charge and trouble (which he even granted to the Jewish Priests) yet this was so far forgotten, that *Constantius* in his Thirteenth Year makes another Law, (*c*) whereby he sets free Clerks and their Sons from all *Curial* Imployments, and from all disturbance of Civil Offices.

(a) *C.Th.l.2. de Pagan.*

(b) *C.Th.l.16. tit. 8. §. 3, 4.*

(c) *C.Th l.16. tit. 2. §. 9.*

103. The Traytor *Magnentius* before the Commission of his execrable parricide against *Constans*, in compliance with the times, made Profession of the Christian Faith. But when he had set up for himself, either out of his own Inclination, or which is as probable, to strengthen his Party against *Constantius*, he seems to have revolted from it; for he then restored those Sacrifices which formerly had been forbidden, as appears from the (*a*) Code of *Theodosius*. These Crimes procuring vengeance from Heaven upon him, his Reign was not of such length, as thereby much to endamage Christianity, to which some amends was made by *Gallus Cæsar*, who seemed for the small time he continued in Power, to be very zealous for Religion, and contributed to the Reformation. This appeared as soon as he was promoted to be *Cæsar*, when lying at *Antioch* he took occasion to rid that place of a very notable piece of Idolatry. There was in the Suburbs

(a) *De Paganis ut suprà.*

The Grove of *Daphne* destroyed.

Suburbs of that City the famed Grove of *Daphne*, so much celebrated by Poets, and other Heathen Writers, for its Consecration to *Apollo*, and a Temple and Oracle of the Devil. Being much haunted still by the Superstitious *Gentiles*, he concluded he should spoil all their sport if he removed thither the Body of *Babylas* the Martyr, some time Bishop of that See. This being done, both what he had designed did succeed, and what was much more observable, that the Devil could not utter thence any Oracle as long as the Body there continued, which he confessed to *Julian* afterwards, whereas it was commonly thought, that this happened because no Sacrifices were offered. Thus did *Gallus* effect that which his Uncle *Constantine* seemeth to have purposed unsuccessfully, who to abolish the Memory of *Apollo* in *Daphne*, had there erected his Mother *Helena*'s Statue, had called the place *Augustale*, and after himself *Constantiniana Daphne*, giving also to the Twenty third Legion, which he had lately raised, the name of *Constantiniana Dafnensis*, as from several ancient Medals, and Inscriptions, it doth appear. *Vide Baronium ad A.D.* 351.

104. But *Constantius*, that he might prævent all Treason against his Person, or remove that, which otherwise, through Gods displeasure, might indanger his Cause, when he undertook his Expedition against *Magnentius*, and *Verannio*, cashired all his Souldiers, who were not already, or now refused, to be Baptized, though he himself deferred it till his Death. It happened upon this occasion, that such as refused Baptism, were called *Pagani* or *Pagans*, which word being first peculiar to those that were not Souldiers, in contradistinction to Military Men, became after this, a common name of all *Ethnicks*. *Baronius* thinks that the *Gentiles* might so be called from this reason, that when the Idol-Temples were shut up in Cities, they retired into the *Pagi* or *Villages*, to perform their Superstitious Rites, which they did till the time of *Honorius* or longer. *Honorius* the Emperour using the word in this sence, interprets it, as meaning the *Gentiles*, so that it had not been long in use, as applicable to Idolaters. *Baronius* tells us, the first he finds thus to use it, is *Optatus Milenitanus*, who wrote against *Parmenianus*, in the Reign of *Valentinian* and *Valens*, and he contends against such as would produce *Tertullian* to the contrary. The word *Gentile* was taken from the *Jews*, but at this time the *Romans*. when they used this word, understood thereby *Barbarians*, as appeareth by the Rescripts of *Valentinian* and *Valens*, out of the Code of *Theodosius*.

Pagani who.

Vide annot. ad l. 1. *Cod. Inst. de Paganis.*

de nupt. Gentil.

105. In the time of *Constantius* it seemeth, that Sæcular Judges drew Bishops into their Courts, and would take cognisance of Matters peculiar to them, and purely Ecclesiastical, which upon complaint of *Hilary* Bishop of *Poictiers*, the Emperour taking into Consideration, by a (*a*) Constitution dated on the first of *October*, in the Nineteenth Year of his Reign, and the Consulship of *Arbetio* and *Lollianus*, forbids Bishops to be accused in Sæcular Courts, permitting their Causes to be decided by their Brethren, which is to be understood of Ecclesiastical. The next Year after, taking notice how much Idolatry yet was practiced, notwithstanding all former Laws, he in conjunction with *Julian* (who though a *Pagan* in his Heart, was at this time glad to dissemble) publisheth severe (*b*) Rescripts against *Aruspices*, *Mathematicians*, *Magicians*, *Diviners*, and such like Creatures, with those that should consult them; as also against such as sacrificed to Idols, or worshipped their Images, making those Crimes Capital, like a severe vindicator of the Christian Religion, as he stiles himself; But this was done rather in terrour, the Rod was shaken, but seldom or never did it strike Idolaters, however it might reach the Fortune-tellers, against whom the Emperour might be acted by other reasons besides those of Religion. The Emperours in the following Year, and the One and twentieth of *Constantius*, (*c*) except from the general Collation to which Tradesmen were bound, the Clerks called *Clerici Copiatæ*, that is the *Libitinarii*, or those that ordered Matters belonging to Burials, *Vespillones* or *Bearers*, *Pollinctores*, or those that washed and anointed dead Bodies. They also confirmed Priviledges formerly granted to the *Roman* Church, out of consideration of the Dignity of that ancient Metropolis. This same Year also *Constantius* wrote a Rescript to the People against Inchanters, such as disturbed the Elements and raised Spirits; and to *Orfitus* Præfect of the City, against such as exhibited the old shews of the Gladiators. It was in the Præfectship of this *Orfitus*, that the great Obelisk was removed by order of *Constantius* from *Alexandria* to *Rome*, and there placed in the Great Cicque, which long

(a) *C. Theod. l.* 12. *de Episc. & Cler.*

(b) *C. Th. l.* 16. *t.* 8. §. 6. *l.* 9. *t.* 16 §. 4, 5. *De malef. & Pagan.*

(c) *C. Th. l.* 1. *tit.* 1. §. 1. *de Episc. & Cleric.*

C. Th. l. 5. *de malef. L.* 1 *de gladiat.*

long time after *Sixtus Quintus* translated into the *Lateran Pallace*, and made Christian by a Cross erected on the top thereof.

106. The Year following being the Two and twentieth of his Reign, and in the Consulship of *T. Fabius Dacianus*, and *Neratius Ceroalis*, he published, amongst other Constitutions, another Law against the several sorts of Diviners, and Fortune-tellers, whom if they were found in the Court, he subjected to Tortures. It is probable that something he had smelt out, concerning *Julian*, and what tricks he plaid at this time in *Gall*, where and elsewhere, when he could privately, he gave up himself to Magick, as we have formerly shewed out of *Ammianus*, who cannot, though a *Pagan*, forbear to accuse him of excess in this Particular. From him also we may learn, that *Constantius* was about this time much moved against Idolaters, who still continued their Sacrifices, and consulted Oracles, notwithstanding all his Laws formerly published against those Superstitions, which carried him out to that Severity, that such as should but be found to wear Amulets about them against Diseases, as the *Quartan Ague*, or were seen to wander about the Tombs, he subjected to Condemnation. And as he bent his endeavours thus to eradicate *Pagan* Superstitions, so did he curse the *Jews*, with whom he would not have Christians to Marry, or have Communion. The Insurrection they made in his Seventeen Year was so provoking, that *Gallus Cæsar*, to suppress their Rebellion, destroyed many thousands of Men, Women, and Children, and burnt many of their Towns. In the same Year died *Rabba*, their great Doctor both in the School called *Surana*, and the other named *Pambitana*, to whom succeeded *Nachman* the Son of *Isaac*. In the Two and twentieth Year of *Constantius*, *Hillel* the Second, the Son of *Judas*, began the Computation, which the *Jews* use at this day. He built upon the Foundations laid formerly by *Hillel* the First, his Progenitor, who died *A. D.* 10. He took this for a Principle, that the Vernal Æquinoctial fell out on the Twenty third of *March*, which was true in the days of *Hillel* the First; but the case was altered in the time of the Younger, and the said Two and twentieth Year of the Emperour *Constantius*.

Hieron. in Chron.

Jacobus Cappellus ex Zacuto & Abrahami Cabbala.

M CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

From the Reign and Apostacy of Julian *to the Second* Oecumenical *Council held at* Constantinople.

The space of Twenty Years wanting five Months.

1. THe Tares of Arranism were now grown so forward and flourishing that there wanted a Winter to check their growth, lest they should choak the Corn, and quite overrun the Lords Husbandry. As Friends, when they fall out, give advantage to such as seek the ruin of both Nations, and formerly allied, being once grown wanton through Prosperity, first quarrel and weaken each other, then lye open to Forraign attempts, and in contention for the Fenns, and the right of Soveraignty, are made a prey by one that hovers above them both, for a fit advantage so happened it to Christians after the death of *Constantius*. *Flavius Claudius Julianus* his Cousin German and Successor (though against his will) having been Educated in the Christian Religion, yet from a Child, if we believe *Ammianus*, was much inclined to Paganism, and if we credit himself, had for the space of Ten years, though privately for fear of *Constantius*, yet Really and Cordially addicted himself to that Superstition, resolving that if ever his Stars so wrought as to make him Master of the *Roman* Empire, to recall from Exile his banished Gods, restore them their Temples, rebuild their Altars, and kindle again those Fires which the late zeal of his Prædecessors had almost extinguished, without any hopes of resuscitation. But this he thought he must effect by degrees, and used such arts as in contemplation of those means which he perceived had formerly been applied unsuccessfully, were most proper and likely to bring about his design.

Julian the Emperour.

2. His severity against the Eunuchs and other Courtiers of *Constantius*, though proceeding from private indignation and revenge, yet being joyned with Justice, and meeting with the same passions and interests in others (who had smarted under the late grievances, as well as himself) procured him applause and good esteem. He seemed to be sensible of the injustice of the *Arians*, and the hard usage of the Orthodox, whom he restored to their Countries, Sees, Livings, and Estates. But though at first he compelled none to his own way, and never lived to ripen those projects which he had laid as prævious to that design, yet did he take the course of all those who prudently resolve to turn the strong Current of the Multitude, first to discountenance dissentions, and give an indifferent liberty to all, yet so as to shew by his practice, what he himself approved, till by securing himself of the main chance, and getting firm possession of the Soveraignty, having once gained the Posts of greatest concernment, and made himself Master of all the avenues, he could turn the Engines of Peace, which are the Laws, against those who had lately been possessed of them, and then at length enjoy, nwhen had Obedience within his beck. His indulgence therefore extended as well to Hæreticks as Orthodox. Some of that sort, as *Ætius*, and others being in Exile. To all alike he gave liberty of Conscience, Inhibiting Constraint and Force, which he knew, if it came once to blows, would be first put upon his own Party, when the Christians, who filled all places within the Empire, should betake themselves to other Weapons besides their ancient Prayers and Tears. He commanded the Temples of Idols to be opened, offered himself at the Sacrifices, and not content with the Devotion and Attendance of an ordinary Pagan, both took upon him the Office and Title of *Pontifex Maximus*, according to the custom of his Heathen Ancestors, (in which he was Initiated with the ordinary Ceremonies,) and was also made *Pontifie* over the *Eleusinia*, and ordained other inferiour *Pontifies* which he distributed into the Provinces.

He tollerates all Religions.

3. In

3. In complyance with this opportunity, offered the Exiled Bishops return to their own Sees, and amongst the rest *Athanasius* the great Champion of Christs Divinity. Some say he appeared in his Church soon after the Death of *Constantius*, but *Gregory Nazianzen*, in the work which he consecrated to his praise, saith, he returned thither after the Death of *George*, who being both hateful to God and Man, came to such an end, as his Carriage and Demeanour had deserved. For besides what we have formerly said of his Cruelties, his Avarice and Extorsions were great, wherewith he harased the *Alexandrians*. *Epiphanius* writes, that he spoyled many of them of their Patrimonies, that he ingrossed to himself the trade of *Nitre*, and of the Salt-pits, procured the Monopile of Paper, and making a gain out of the vilest sorts of Materials, brought up a new Order of *Lecticarii* or Biere-Carriers in the Church, which he restrained to a certain Number to be at his Devotion, suffering none, but those by himself appointed, to be employed in the Burial of the Dead. This was far from any care of seeing Christians decently Interred, his design was only his own profit, not to speak, saith he, of his last Cruelties. Being deposed in the Council of *Seleucia*, by the *Semiarian* Faction, he regarded not at all the Censure, but returned to *Alexandria*, where not at all daunted, he fell upon his former Courses, plagueing as well the *Gentiles* as the Orthodox Christians. By these means he became so odious to all Parties and Conditions, that a fit occasion only was wanting to dispatch him out of the way, and that at length presented it self; about which, though there be some Variation in Writers as to the manner, yet all agree in the Substance.

Athanasius returns to *Alexandria* upon the death of *George*.

Sozom.

4. That the Emperour had given him Licence to Convert the ancient Temple of *Mithras* or *the Sun*, which had layn a long time desolate, into a Christian Church, is affirmed by Ecclesiastical Writers, and that great heaps of Slaughtered Bodies which had been offered to that Idol, being found therein, were by the Christians exposed to publick view, to render the more odious the Irreligion and Impiety of the *Gentiles*. Hereby grievously incensed, and formerly provoked, by his insolencies having got advantage, and encouraged by the profession of *Julian*, they fell upon him, and slew him in the place. *Ammianus* tells the Story thus, that passing once by the Goodly Temple, dedicated to the Genius of the place, with many People according to the Custom waiting on him; casting his Eyes upon it after a scornful fashion, how long, said he, shall those ruines continue undemolished? Upon report hereof, the *Pagans* furiously inraged, and hearing in the very nick of time, that their Governour was newly dead, they gladly laid hold on the opportunity, not quieting themselves till they had torn a Man so generally hated, into almost a thousand pieces. *Ammianus* relates, as causes of the Peoples fury, that he had incensed the Emperour against them, accusing them as spurning against his Government, that he was an Informer, and to curry favour with the Prince, had buzzed into his credulous Ears, that all Houses in the City built by *Alexander* the Founder at the publick charges, he might justly appropriate to his Exchequer. Some imputed his death to the favourers of *Athanasius*, but it is generally agreed on, that he was killed by the Universal consent both of Christians and Heathens, for the reasons we have recited. The Emperour seemed at first exceedingly inconsed, threatning bitter things against the Murderers, but at length quallifying his passion, it suffized him to chide them by a Letter,* wherein he lays the fault upon all in general, for those Causes before mentioned, these take from him the reputation of a Martyr, seeing it is the Cause, not the Punishment, that maketh such, and deny him the Title of Saint. Upon which account we cannot have such hard thoughts of Tradition, as to think him the same with St. *George* the English Patron.

The manner of his death.

* *Apud Socr. l. 3. c. 3.*

5. *Athanasius* coming to his See, after the removal of *George*, was received with all joy imaginable. The *Arians*, banished from the Congregation, held their Conventicles in private Houses, and Elected *Lucius* to succeed in the Bishoprick, which notwithstanding, he went on in his way without impediment in the discharge of his Episcopal Function. In the mean time *Lucifer* Bishop of *Caralitanum* in *Sardinia*, and *Eusebius* Bishop of *Vercellæ*, a City, as *Socrates* tells us, of *Ligurian Italians*, being amongst others recalled by the Emperours Edict, considering how they might recover their Bishopricks with most quiet, and agreeably with the Canons, resolved that the one should go to *Antioch*, and the other to *Alexandria*, to procure a Council wherein those matters might be debated. *Lucifer* sending his Deacon to *Alexandria*, to signifie his assent to the Decrees

of the Synod departed for *Antioch*, where he found the State of that Church much out of order, a great variance and division being in the People, as well, as by reason of the Hæretical opinions of *Euzoius*, as also because the Favourers of *Meletius* and the Orthodox were at odds, those looking upon him as Ordained by *Arians*, though he held not their opinions. *Lucifer* Ordained *Paulinus* Bishop of that See. *Eusebius* arriving at *Alexandria*, dealt earnestly with *Athanasius* about the summoning of a Council, to which many Confessors, who had lately dared to shew their heads, being summoned, they Condemned the several *Doctrines* of *Arians*, *Apollinarians*, and *Macedonians*. They affirmed the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, as being of *one substance* in the Blessed Trinity, and that the Son of God at his Incarnation, took not only Humane Flesh, but a reasonable Soul also, as the ancient Fathers had delivered.

Vide Socr. ut suprà. c. 6. &c.

A Council held at *Alexandria.*

6. The Fathers perceiving that there was some difference of terms betwixt the Greek and Latin Churches, in the word *Essence*, and *Substance*, and *Hypostasis*, though they agreed in substance by reason of the several proprieties of Speech; by the perswasion of *Athanasius*, subscribing to the same thing in substance, were contented to lay aside those words which occasioned the difference, and to use no other than those found in the Scriptures, except in case of Errors, for a clearer discerning and judging of them. Taking into consideration the Multiplicity of Creeds, they concluded to lay all aside, except that of the *Nicene Council*, rejecting the Confession made at *Sardica*, as well as the rest; *Athanasius* being also very sensible what imputations the *Arians* had laid upon his retirement in those times of Persecution, which they called deserting of his place and trust, he took this occasion of clearing himself, and recited his Apology for his flight into the Wilderness. But there was an other thing which gave greater occasion to this Meeting, and took up the greatest debate, occasioned by the late *Arian* Persecutions. Several through infirmity had subscribed, and acted against their Consciences, the Terrors of Exile, and Tortures, having wrested from them a Complyance, which notwithstanding those that had made resistance and stood out, so censured them, that they held them unworthy of Communion, as also such as had any charitable opinion of them. This proved such a growing Evil, as stood in need of a speedy Remedy, for which Cause many out of all parts, both *Asia* and *Italy*, as well as *Africk*, had recourse unto this Council. After much debate, wherein some would have debarred those that had fallen from the Sacred Orders; it was resolved, that such as had relapsed through infirmity, or miscarried through ignorance, should upon repentance be received into Communion, and to their former Places. By this Decree, which was but conformable to what the Church had practiced in the like Cases of *Samosatenus*, the *Novatians*, and *Donatists*, the World was rescued out of the Jaws of the Devil, saith St. *Hierome*.

Nazianz. Orat. Ath.

Ruffin. 9.

7. The Resolutions and Decrees of the Council, being dispersed amongst the Churches, did much good. But as God works good out of Evil, so the Devil will be sure to work Evil out of Good, and turn that to poyson, which was intended as a Remedy. *Eusebius*, after the Council was broken up, went to *Antioch*, where finding much difference about the Election of *Paulinus*, he endeavoured to Compose them to no purpose, and so got him home to his own Bishoprick. From the State of affairs, he found reason to dislike of the Ordination of *Paulinus*, which *Lucifer* understanding, took it as a disparagement to his Judgment, and growing impatient, refused to Communicate with *Eusebius*. From this Indignation he arose to that height, as to quarrel with the determinations of the Synod, and made a Schism from the Church, wherein he died, giving Name to a Sect, which continuing to the time of *Socrates*, were from him called *Luciferians*. *Eusebius*, from *Antioch* passed through the Eastern Countrys, strengthening such as were weak in the Faith, and instructing them in the Doctrine of the Church, whence he travelled into *Illyrium*, and coming into *Italy*, in like sort he dilligently preached the word of God. *Athanasius* in like manner so managed his business at *Alexandria*, that the Church proceeded in a very flourishing Condition, till the *Arians* envying him this Felicity, joyned with the common Enemy, and moved *Julian* against him, who by this time had so far settled his business, and carried on his Design, as to be almost ripe for Blood and Slaughters. We must a little observe his Methods, and trace his Steps; for his Pollicies in his own judgment were very refined, and such as noted his Prædecessors of indiscretion.

Socr. c. 9.

The Sect of the *Luciferians.*

8. His

Julian's policies and practices against the Christians.

8. His first Principle was, that Christians were not to be compelled to his Religion, concluding with himself, that should he proceed to Death and Tortures, they would, as he had observed of former Persecutions, and as he himself was wont to Phrase it, flye as fast, and as thick to Martyrdom, as Bees to a Hive; and thereby gain both greater Reputation and Accession to Christianity. He thought that those whom death could not fright, yet Disgrace and lingring Penury might drive to Idolatry. Therefore he barred to them all access of Honours and Imployments, and when he was about to march towards *Persia*, took from all such Souldiers the Military Girdle, as refused to Sacrifice to the *Pagan* Deities. He thought Scoffing and Derision Engines able to batter that Faith, which the Sword could not reach, and accordingly made it his business to flout at, and jear both the Christian Name and Profession, giving *Christ* himself no other Title than that of *Galilæan*, calling the Worshippers of him *Galileans*, and this he did not only in his ordinary talk, but in his Epistles and Rescripts, and at length commanded by a Law, that no otherwise they should be called. He thought that if once he could deprive them of their Teachers, their Zeal, which those continually kept warm, would at length insensibly cool, and come to nothing. This made him take away such Stipends, Lands, and publick Sallaries, as formerly had been granted by *Constantine* and his Sons, to the publick Ministry. And that as well Priests as People, might, through ignorance, have their Spirits abased, and their Wits without edge; whereby they might be exposed as well to the Contempt, as insinuations of their Enemies, he forbad they should be instructed in any of the liberal Arts and Sciences.

9. The Glorious advantages of Christian Religion, being (as an Apostate) known unto him, he endeavoured to transfer upon his *Pagan* impiety. Being Conscious to himself of the Virtues of Christians, and how much they adorned their holy Profession, he pressed, upon all sects of Philosophers, whom as the Champions of his Cause, he much cherished, the advantages of a good Life, which was to be answerable to their Pretences. To this purpose he appointed, that some should be set apart to instruct the People throughout the Towns and Villages, and in a familiar way, to reduce the speculative part of Philosophy into Præcepts. The Poor he also took care for, that such as could not work might be relieved, and the Sick not perish for want of things necessary to their recovery. Reputing those means most effectual, and as deep and prævalent Mysteries for accomplishing that, in a Calm and Serene manner, which all the fury of so many Ages could not compass, he added some little Arts and Tricks to cheat the Christians, and trappan them into Idolatry. Having removed the Cross, which *Constantine* had added to the *Labarum* or Standard of the Empire, and reduced it to the ancient *Pagan* Model, he also added to the Images of himself, some Pictures of his Gods, as *Mars*, *Mercury*, and *Serapis*, that in the Ceremonies paid to his own Majesty the reverence of those Idols might be included. Such Victuals as were sold in the Market, he would cause to be polluted by things offered to his Idols, and Springs to be sprinkled with their Holy Water.

10. By these Courses præsuming he could undermine Christianity, he Vigorously prosecuted the reinforcement of decayed Paganism. This was both by his own example, by opening the Doors of Præterment to *Pagans*, and them alone, and also by taking from Christian Discipline such Patterns of prudential Orders, Rites, and Customs, as he thought might be productive of Peace, Security and Establishment. To this purpose, he intended to erect publick Schools in each City; in the Temples he would have observed such manners of Worship, such Seats and Benches as the Christians used, placed one above another; reading and explanation of prophane Authors, both in the Theoretick and Practick part, with Alternate Prayers, and Hymns, Animadversions upon Offenders, with penitence and satisfaction injoyned. He purposed to build Hospitals, as also Monastaries both for Men and Women, exhorting the Pontifices to set about it at the publick and private charge, as *Nicephorus* writes, and approving much the way of Letters Commendatory for distressed Persons, he took this course of transmitting them from one Place and Country into another. Then did he spur those on, who were ready enough to run of themselves, to the restitution of Temples, Sacrifices, and other rites of the *Gentiles*, and herein when many Christians, who had been instruments in demolishing those Buildings, which the Laws had ordered to be pulled down, were miserably abused, and Murdered; he not only connived at those

things

things, but incouraged them in such Outrages. Many also, whom their Zeal so far transported, as to revile him for his Apostacy, and oppose his Actions, he commanded to be put to death, and applauded most horrid Murders and Massacres upon this account committed throughout the Empire. Such as refused to Sacrifice, and threw away the Military Girdles, though upon other Pretences, he would find some opportunity or other to disgrace, and even put to death, if he perceived they were of Interest to oppose his Designs, and if he could spare them in his Wars. At length when he had so far brought about his design, as to be something secure of his Cause, the Christians continuing stedfast to their old Principle, of suffering rather than Rebelling, though they opposed his Proceedings now and then, as to particular places and things, and ceased not to tell him his own plainly; he purposed to make away the most eminent Bishops, such as were Fathers of the Church, and Props of the Christian Religion. For this purpose, though at the first he pretended to be a Lover of Union and Peace, now he began to cherish their Differences, and use them against one another. And had he returned from the *Persian* War with good success, it was his Resolution for that Victory, to have offered an Holocaust of *Galilæans* to his Gods, and have tied Christianity to his Triumphal Chariot.

11. The effects of all these Arts and Mysteries, was a change of the Scene for so short a time as he play'd his Tragedy, whereby one might behold nothing but Sacrifices and Incense upon the Stage, which was changed into a Temple, the Diadem transformed into a Miter, and the Scepter into a Sooth-sayers Rod; Dumb Devils in several shapes running too and fro, but in great Anxiety, as afraid of those, who were now constrained to act the Parts of Fools, and forced to put on the Vizards of Idiots, that they might afford matter of Triumph, and Insultation. The Priest wearing a great Beard, and a Stole, whereon were wrought Images of Bulls-heads, taking great pains to restore decay'd Altars, then cringing, and conjuring his obliged Deities to grace him with a verbal Incouragement, that he might know they were still in being, and assert their right against the late Intrusion of those miserable Sacrilegious Wretches, whom (the Gods approving, and prospering their own Cause, and Restitution to their antient right, against which no Præscription could be pleaded,) he doubted not by most likely means, and due methods, to remove quite out of the way, being, as he well understood, a great eye-sore to *Apollo*, for whom he had furnished and prepared his Antient and Royal Pallace. *Apollo* knowing his Reign was at an end, and a period set to his Usurpation, would fain have put him off, as unwilling to show his weakness; and having been Dumb for so many years, it was grown even a trouble to him to speak; but unwilling he should know the true cause, and thereby discover his weakness, as well as Treason, he gave him such an answer, as shewed his Antipathy to the Servants, and Loyal Subjects of his Lord and Master, whereby he might stir him up to Persecute them, and carry on his own work, which he was glad to see done, though more sorry to think it would be but for a moment. For the Priest hereat inraged, and many Scuffles ensuing betwixt him, his Servants, and those whom he termed Varlets, and Sacrilegious, when his Choler was up, and he had resolved to renew the ancient Devices of his Prædecessors against them, by adding Violence to his former Stratagems. The Lord and Master both of *Apollo*, of him, and all his, did but beckon to an Enemy of the Priest, whom he had reserved behind the Curtain, and he breaks into the House of the Priest, upon which news he retires, lays aside his Miter, and resumes his Diadem. After a little expectation, word was brought that the sport was at an end, for the Priest was slain; whereupon *Apollo* gave up all for lost, yet resolved to play at small Games rather than sit out, and promote the differences he knew full well to be amongst his Enemies, which prosperity he thought would not at all lessen. And so the Act abruptly ended.

12. Such, if the Gravity of History permit us to use those Terms and Resemblances, was the Tragedy to which *Julian* fitted all his Præparations. The Religion countenanced, and therefore Rampant was the *Pagan* Impiety Authority and Laws, trampling upon Christianity, and exposing it to the derision of its professed Enemy. The Emperour, though taking care for Restitution of all Idol-Temples, yet was especially concerned for the Temple of *Apollo* at *Daphne*, which he knew his Brother, his Uncle, and Cousins had most despighted, because of the Oracle, which, although since the coming of Christ, the Devil had been dumb for the most part, as appears from many Testimonies, and especially from that Book of *Plutarch*, which would fain resolve the question why Oracles were

He is much concerned for the Temple of *Apollo* at *Daphne*.

were ceased, yet it seems did sometimes, for the Incouragement of *Pagans*, give them answers. For those Christian Writers which make mention of those Passages, tell us, how the Body of *Babylas*, being removed into the Grave, though it drove him not quite away, yet put the Devil to silence, and that several reasons were given thereof, amongst which this obtained most credit, that it was because *no Sacrifices were offered*. *Julian* being now at *Antioch*, made an experiment, offering Sacrifices in abundance, but *Apollo* still continued dumb, at which the Emperour much disquieted, when he provoked him to answer, at length had this return, *That the Grove was defiled with dead Bodies*. There needed no Exposition upon this Oracle, *Julian* knowing that the Body of *Babylas* was hereby meant, which he commanded to be removed. Yet he did not offer any Indignity to the Reliques of that Holy Martyr, which the Citizens of *Antioch*, with great Solemnity, carried back into the City, singing *Psalms* in the way, and this Verse amongst others, *Confounded be all they that worship carved Images, and that delight in vain Gods*; whereupon many were laid in hold, and some were tortured.

Lege Chrysost. Orat. cont. Gentes.

Psal. 97.7.

13. *Sozomen* here relates a remarkable Passage of one *Theodorus* a young Man, whom being set upon the Rack, amidst his Torments an Angel comforted, allaying his pains, wiping off the Sweat, and refreshing his Limbs with cool Water. He thus strengthened and assisted, sung the said Verse with greater Alacrity, which invincible Resolution being made known to the Emperour, he considered, that if he proceeded in his course, he should loose, and the Christians gain Reputation, and gave order they should all be discharged. The reason why he was the more ready to dismiss them, as also to suffer the Body of *Babylas* to be removed with such Honour, might very well be the experience he had had of the Divine Vengeance upon some of his own Relations, as *Julianus* his Uncle, Præfect of the East, and *Fælix*, Præfect of his Exchequer, whom being formerly Christians, he had by his example drawn into the Fellowship of Apostacy. These two being sent by him to the *Dominicum Aureum*, as it was called, that sumptuous Church built at *Antioch* by *Constantine*, to fetch thence the Treasure; *Julianus* first caused *Theodoritus* a Priest that kept it, when he refused to discover it, to be tortured, and when that would not do, to be Beheaded, pissed against the Holy Table, gave *Euzoius* a box on the Ear, who would have hindred him, and sate him down upon the Holy Vessels, whereof *Fælix* viewing their Magnificence, said, *Look with what sumptuous Vessels is the Son of* Mary *served!* But Vengeance presently seized on them both, *Julianus* his Members and Bowels putrifying in such a sort, that he could thence void any Excrements, which he vomited through his Blasphemous Mouth, till he miserably perished. *Fælix* suddenly died by Bleeding at the Mouth. And other Apostates by sudden death began to receive the reward of their Impieties.

L. 5. c. 18, 19. & vide Theodoret. l. 2. c. 11, 12. Socr. l. 3. c. 19. Ruffino.

The remarkable death of several Apostates.

14. But when *Julian* had purged the Grave and Temple of *Daphne* from all Impurities, as he and his God accounted them, by removal of *Babylas* his Body, whether at the Intercession of the Martyr's Soul, as some conceive, or otherwise, the Temple was better purified by Fire, which the Christians of those times affirmed was sent from Heaven, and consumed the Roof and the Idol to Ashes. *Julian*, though by Tortures he could not get any more out of the Priest, than that it was consumed by that means, yet took this occasion to slander the Christians, *Ammianus* also, amongst other opinions (which we have formerly mentioned) delivering this as one, that it was fired by their procurement; yet did certain Country-men affirm, that they saw a Thunder-bolt fall from the Air upon the Temple. However the Burning of it was much bewailed by all the *Pagans*, and *Libanius* a Sophist of *Antioch* composed some mourning and ridiculous Ditties. *Julian* more concerned than any, to divert the Joy of those he thought would triumph over the Ruines, bent his Wits how to plague the *Antiochians*, by defiling their Fountains, and mixing things sacrificed with their Victuals, which he practiced at *Constantinople* with more success, for there the Citizens abstained from them, but the Inhabitants of *Antioch* followed the Apostles Rule, asking no Questions for Conscience sake, which the more nettled the Emperour. Certain it is from all Hands, that *Julian* both ill treated, and was ill treated by the *Antiochians*. He wrote a twitting Libel against them, called *Misopogon* and *Antiochica*, because the Christians of *Antioch* jeared him for his Beard, to which they made as sawcy returns, being a little (which we cannot but take notice of) removed from that dutiful demeanour of the ancient Professors even to their *Pagan* and Persecuting Princes. Such force hath Prosperity over the Tempers and Constitutions of the very best.

The Temple of *Apollo* burnt.

The *Antiochians* Libel *Julian*.

15. He

15. He laid to their charge in that Libel, that they were wont to curse him, and wish for another *Constantine* to chastize his Impiety, that they frequented the Tombs of Martyrs to pray to God to deliver them from his Tyranny, and followed him with noise and clamours when he went to the Temples. They upbraided him with his Religion, saying that *X.* and *K.* never hurt the City in the least, by which two Letters they meant *Christ* and *Constantine*, those being the first Letters of their Names. This oppositon he met with in Christians did but whet his Courage, and inflame his Passion to a greater degree of Malice. Understanding that there were some Churches built at *Miletus* near the Temple of *Apollo Didymæus*, he wrote to the Præsident of *Caria*, to see them burnt, and levelled with the Ground. *Artemius* an old Soldier of *Constantine*, being sent for from his Government of *Ægypt*, and finding the Emperour in Examination of some Priests of *Antioch*, for upbraiding him with his Apostacy and Impiety, was after various Tortures put to death. He incouraged the *Pagans* in their revenge, who to the Christians making opposition, returned Wounds, Tortures, and Death it self, in all places. At *Ascalon* and *Gaza* the Priests and Virgins they horribly abused, ripping up their Bellies, which stuffing with Barley, they then cast them quick and breathing to the Hogs. At *Heliopolis* a Town of *Phænicia*, they pulled in pieces *Cyril* a Deacon, and refrained not from eating his Liver. They were so highly incensed against him, because in the Reign of *Constantine* he had destroyed their Images, but Vengeance overtook them, the Teeth and Tongues of those who did the Fact rotting away, and the Eyes of such as beheld the Spectacle; *Mark* the Bishop of *Arothusa*, being for the same cause sought after to be put to Death, first removed out of the way, but understanding that some of his Friends were apprehended for him, returned. He had formerly in the Reign of *Constantius*, destroyed a stately Temple in that place, and now condemned to re-edifie it by *Julian*, refused. Unspeakable were the Torments he underwent, being at last besmeared all over with Honey, and hung up to the Wasps, for which *Julian* was noted of Ingratitude, who was saved from Destruction by the care of this Bishop, when he and all his were sought for to be destroyed, some say he at last escaped, and both by his Example and Instruction, converted his Tormentors. *Amachius* Governour of a City in *Phrygia*, as a Punishment for breaking their Idols, after long and various Tortures, was roasted with a small Fire. Such was the carriage of the Vulgar, backed by the encouragement of the Prince.

Τὸ χ. ὀνόμα ἠδίκησε τὴν πόλιν οὐδὲ τὸ Κ. *Soz. l. 5. c. 19. Theod. l. 3. c. 17. alii.*

His Cruelties.

16. When the Christians complained of those Outragious Dealings, his Impious answer was, that Afflictions rendred them more fit for the Kingdom of Heaven, as also to such as Petitioned him for their Goods which his Officers had seized on, under pretence of their having converted the Materials of the demolished Temples to their own uses; for he executed upon them the old Laws made against Sacrilege. Rendring them uncapable of Offices when he was undertaking his Expedition against the *Persians*, the better to furnish himself with Money, he set Fines upon all such as should refuse to Sacrifice, which Tax was very grievous, as *Socrates* writes, and duly demanded of Christians, not only where the Emperour travelled, but also in such Countries as he came not near. Then did the *Gentiles*, saith he, insult over the Christians; the Philosophers celebrated their frequented Conferences, they solemnized certain detestable Rites and Ceremonies: they made slaughter of Infants, sparing no Sex, they used their Entrails for Sooth-saying, and tasted of their tender Flesh, which horrible Practices were both at *Athens*, *Alexandria*, and other places. *Julian*, in the mean time scoffed at Christians for their belief, saying, all their Wisdom lay in the Verb *Crede*, and as the Heathens of old, so he now derided them for worshipping Crosses. But he thought he had still a notable device, which he kept secret till times were ripe for its accomplishment. Knowing what bitter Enemies the *Jews* were to Christians, which they had lately shewn also in his time, by burning many of their Churches, that by owning and preferring their Worship, he might depress Christianity, render invalid our Saviour's Prædictions, and advance the Trade of Sacrificing, to which he himself was so much addicted, he resolved to re-edifie the Temple at *Jerusalem*, which had lain waste and demolished ever since the days of *Vespasian*. By his commandment the Cost and Charges were awarded out of the publick Treasury, and all Necessaries provided to the Work, which the *Jews* to think of, were ravished with Joy, and got them, for the Honour thereof, Silver Instruments.

He lays heavy Taxes upon Christians.

17. At

His Fruitless attempt to re-build the Temple at *Jerusalem.*

17. At the same time *Cyril* Bishop of the Church, who was lately returned from Banishment, exercised his Faith in reference to the prædiction of *Daniel* the Prophet, confirmed by our Saviour, concerning the desolation of the place, which the event failed not. For, as they were about their work, an Earthquake happened, and great Balls of Fire issued out of the Earth, which drove away, confounded, or destroyed the Workmen and Overseers, tore up the old Foundations of the Temple, from the very bottom, and is further said to have broken and melted the Tools of the Artificers. Hereby though the *Jews* were constrained to desist, and confess the Power of *Jesus Christ*, yet would they not forsake their *Judaism*; and notwithstanding the thing was so notorious, that it was acknowledged by the *Pagans*, and confessed by their Historians, of whom *Ammianus* hath related the matters with some Particulars, yet had it not that effect, as to work any great alteration in behalf of the Christians. Many Persons indeed coming from far to behold the Spectacle, went away both convinced, and converted; but as it happeneth to such as sin with an high hand against knowledge, *Julian* became the more inraged and resolute. Perceiving that the Temple could not be re-edified, he caused the Materials to be gathered together, and therewith commanded a Theatre to be built, wherein after his return from *Persia*, he purposed to expose the Christians of that Country to Wild Beasts, as *Orosius* tells us. * L. 7. c. 30.

He forbids the burying of the dead by day-light.

18. But his own fate pressed him hard on to the *Persian* Expedition, which before he Prosecuted, he published as was congruous, a Rescript to the People, bearing date on the Twlefth of *February*, from *Antioch*, against the Violation of Sepulchres, and also carrying out dead Bodies to be Enterred by day-light. Hereby he seemeth to strike at Christians, who, by their too forward Zeal against all manner of Paganish Superstition, defacing what Inscriptions were made to the *Dii Manes*, were injurous to the memory of the Dead, and drew out a Rescript of this nature, formerly from *Constantius*. The Burial of the dead in the day-time he condemns as strikeing the Eyes with an unlucky Prospect, and making the lookers on unfit for the Service of the Gods, whereas privacy was fitter for Mourning, and it being a thing indifferent to the Dead, to be buried by Night or by Day, and to shun Ostentation, he thought it fit the Eyes of the People should be delivered from such Objects. Hereby he also seemeth to reprehend no others but the Christians, who were wont to accompany their dead Friends to the Grave in great Companies, with singing of Psalms, and that in the day time, concluding this last Office with Prayers and Praises to Almighty God. In latter times came in many Ceremonies; to the use of *Incense*, of which (a) *Tertullian* speaks, afterwards were *Lights* added, in which and the *Clergy* (b) *Stapleton* asserts *Seemliness*, *Solemnity* and *Sanctity* to consist. (c) *Rebuffius* affirms it to be contrary to good manners, to desire to be buried without Ringing of Bells, for it would savour of Singularity. Yet *Budæus* a Man both very Learned and of good Repute for Morals, would be buried without any Ceremonies, as *Slerdan* writes, with *Turnebus* and others.

C. Th. l. 9. tit. 19. l. 5.

Quis enim dies est bene auspicatus à funere, aut quomodo ad deos & templa veniatur? Id eo q; quoniam & dolor in exequiis secretum amat, & diem functis nil inter esse, utrum per noctes, an per dies efferantur, liberari convenit populi totius aspectus, ut dolor esse in funeribus, non Pompa exequiarum nec ostentatio deatur.

(a) *Apologet. c.* 42. (b) *In exposit. Evang. Lucæ.* 7. *Dominica* 15. *post Penticost.* (c) *l.* 202. *de verb signif. Petr. Paris Consil.* 91. *vol.* 4. *de orig. Campanarum & usu vide Hospin. de origin. temp. c.* 14. *l.* 2. *de sepeliendi rit. vid. Petrarchani Ep. famil. l.* 2. *Ep.* 2. *Alciat. in l.* 2. *c. de SS. Ecclesiis.*

Burying in Churches when introduced.

19. Of old time Sepulchres were out of the Cities to the *Jews* and *Romans*. So *Cicero* describes the Tomb of *Archimedes*, and *Pausanias* in his perambulation of *Greece*, mentions many without, but none within the City. Therefore it was an extraordinary favour granted to *Poplicola* and his Family, mentioned by *Dionysius Halicarnasseus*, to *Cæsar*, as writes (a) *Dio*, and *Adrian* to be buried in the Forum; anciently none were buried in Churches, as appears both by the (b) Imperial and Canon Laws; at lentgh they came to bury in Church Porches (so was *Augustine* the first Bishop of *Canterbury* buried) and so they got at last into Churches * (whereof yet that part called the *Baptisterium*, where the Font stood, was excepted) and Chancels; a Custom that some think neither decent nor wholsome, in Populous places especially, so that though such as offended herein by former Laws, were to be punished arbitrarily, yet Custom prevailed so much to the contrary, that they became rather antiquated than repealed, which Custom the (c) Canon Law so far gives way to, as to suffer a faithful Lay-Person to be buried in the Church. Anciently the Cæmiteries or burying-places, were (d) out of the Towns, both for cleanliness and health, as that Christians might be put in mind that the dead are gone out of this World, have left those Cities, and are made Citizens in Heaven. But as Superstition and Covetuous-

(a) *Lib.* 44. *p.* 243.

(b) *c. de. SS. Eccles. l.* 2. *c. ul. c. th.* 17. *Concil Braccar.* 36. 13. *q.* 2.

(c) *nullus & glossa Carolus M. in th. libr.* 1. *c.* 15 9. *Non licet in Baptisterio Corpora Sepelire. Conc. Antisiodor. can.* 14. *D. c. nullus.*

(d) *Theod. l.* 2. *c.* 14 *vola t. l.* 22.

Covetousness increased about the time of *Gregory* the Great, they began both for convenience of Ceremonies, and for Gain and Advantage, to bury in the Cities: Although the Canon Law forbids any thing to be Exacted for the Ground, yet is it the observation of *Hospinian* so true (*viz.* that never was there found out a more profitable device, than the sale of Graves) that in some Reformed Churches this Custom is become both burthensome and scandalous; as in some Cities of * *Saxony* scarcely can a Grave be purchased for One hundred *Joachims*, and in other places which I need not mention, it shall cost a Man nigh as much to bury his Son, as in *Ægyt* of old time (if *Herodotus* tell true,) his whole Education would have amounted to, but to our purpose.

De sepult. c. penult.

L. 3. c. 1. de orig. templ.

* *Eberharti a weihe Meditam pro federib l. 2. p. 47. &c.*

20. *Julian* e're he set forward for *Persia*, sent to *Delphos*, *Delus*, and *Dodona*, to enquire of the Oracles concerning his success, as *Cræsus* of old had done, and had suitable answers, if not so ambiguous, yet as deceitful. *Maximus* the Philosopher, whom he prized above all Men, and as an Oracle, little less Infallible than the other, promised him the same, if not greater Matters, of which he was so confident, as studying only to be grateful, he vowed at his return to offer up the Christians as Sacrifices to his Gods, to destroy and root out the whole Party, and place the Images of *Venus* in their Churches. Thinking verily, that according to the Pythagorial *Metamsychosis*, *Alexander*'s Soul was passed into his Body, he rejected all Auxiliary supplies offered from other Princes, only to *Arsaces* King of *Armenia*, because a Christian, he wrote Letters (described by *Sozomen*) full of contempt of *Constantius* his Prædecessor, reproach of *Arsaces*, and Blasphemy against *Christ*, threatning, that in case he failed to attend him with his Forces, the God whom he worshipped, should not be able to defend him. In his expedition he sate up late writing Commentaries in imitation of *Julius Cæsar*, and as St. *Hierome* tells us, now he Composed seven Books against Christian Religion, which were abundantly answered by *Cyril* of *Alexandria*. Being affrighted with some Prodigies, he is said to have cut up a Woman to consult her Entrails about his success, and to have had a familiar Devil, which upon occasion, sent by him into the West to bring him intelligence, coming to the place where a certain Monk called *Publius* inhabited, was stopped there, not able to proceed any farther. His Gods indeed, if so far they were permitted, did not cease, by ill Omens, to lay his danger before him, but nothing could deterr him from prosecuting the means of his wretched end, which some Heathens ascribed to the Christians, some Christians to an Angel, and others to the Enemy, but generally they agree in the incertainty of the Executioner, of that Divine Vengeance which took him away. *So let thine Enemies perish O Lord!*

He consults the Oracles about the success of his *Persian* expedition.

Theod. l. 3. c. 18. Nazianz. contra Julian *orat. 2. Chrysost. adversus Gentes.*

Cedrenus.

Julians death.

21. *Theodoret* writes, that having received the Wound, he filled his hand with Blood, and casting it up into the Air, cryed out *vicisti Galileæ. Nicophorus*, that his words were *Saturate Nazarene.* It is reported also, that he complained much of his Gods, probably of *Mars*, which *Ammianus* confesseth; but he was so desirous to be reckoned into the Number, and enjoy that esteem amongst the Vulgar, which *Libanius* gave him in his Oration, of being reckoned amongst their Divinities, that the report goes, he would have cast himself into some River, and so on a sudden disappearing, as *Æneas* of old, *Romulus*, and others; a report might have been plausibly spread by his Followers, that he was taken up into Heaven, but the design was discovered, and dashed by one of his Eunuchs. His Body brought back, was received every where with Scoffs and Derision. The Philosophers and Magicians, his bosom Friends and Councillors, were no better treated, and the Victory of the Cross, or Christ Crucified, was all over owned and magnified. His Character is variously taken, according to the affection and Party of the Designers, of which elsewhere we have said enough, but much more in this Ecclesiastical account, the length thereof may be excused by the Importance of the Subject. Only at parting we may take a view of him, as he is described to us by *Solomon*, very aptly both as *Baronius*, and others judge, which will seem an exact Epitome of what has been at large discoursed. *A naughty Person* (saith our Translation, but *Homo Apostata*, an Apostate *Baronius* reads it) *a wicked Man walketh with a froward Mouth, he winketh with his Eyes, he speaketh with his Feet, he teacheth with his Fingers; frowardness is in his Heart, he deviseth mischief continually, he soweth discord; therefore shall his Calamity come suddenly, suddenly shall he be broak without remedy.*

His Character.

See this book ch. 2. out of *Ammian. &c.*

Prov. 6. 12. *&c.*

Homo Apostata, vir inutilis, graditur ore perverso, annuit oculis, terit pede, digito loquitur, pravo corde machinatur malum, & omni tempore Jurgia seminat, huic extemplo veniet perditio sua, & subito conteretur nec habebit ultra ultra medicinam.

22. Into

Jovian succeeds.

22. Into the Throne of *Julian* was Elected *Jovian*, by universal consent, say Christian writers, though *Ammianus*, who is very partial in behalf of *Julian*, makes his Election difficult, and attributes those difficulties and hard conditions, with which he was constrained to purchase Peace, to his weakness, whereas all indifferent Persons must necessarily ascribe them to the temerity of his Prædecessor. Being a Tribune, when *Julian* cashiered all Christians, he willingly quitted the Military Girdle; but for his Abilities he took him into Service again, and when he was now Elected, he refused the Purple, crying out he was a Christian, and would not command a Pagan Army, at which the Souldiers cryed out that they also were Christians. According to this beginning he proceeded so far as his small time would permit, revoking what ever had been done by *Julian*, against Christian Religion, restoring all the Professors thereof to their ancient Priviledges, and opening all ways for the banished Bishops to return to their own Sees. Amongst those most eminent, was great *Athanasius*, against whom, as we formerly said, the *Arians* and *Pagans* Conspired, and moved *Julian* against him. *Julian* therefore lets him know, that being banished, he had not only returned to *Alexandria* which was lawful, but had possessed himself of his Church and Government without his Warrant, which he ought not to have done; but this was not the matter, there was another thing which galled the Emperour, and that was the Conversion of several Families, and amongst the rest some *Pagan* Priests to Christianity. *Julian* therefore is resolved to rid the World of him, which though at first it did not appear, yet *Athanasius* expecting the worst, and no good from Apologies, resolved to quit *Alexandria*, and that in an open way, that his Friends might not fare worse for being thought to conceal him. The Conjurers and Magicians rejoyced exceedingly at his departure, confessing their Arts failed them when he was resident; but the good Christians lamented the departure of their Pastor, to whom he answered, *be of good Courage my Brethren, it is but a small Cloud that will quickly pass over*, and so he took Boat for the Wilderness.

Soc. l. 3 c. 14. Theod. l. 4. c. 9. Sozom. l. 5. c. 15.

23. He had not been long upon the Water, when the Governour understanding he was gone, took Boat with an Executioner to follow, and dispatch him, being afraid to put him to death in *Alexandria*, the place where he was so exceedingly beloved. Of this he had timely notice from his Friends, upon which Message, those in the Boat desired him to Land, and make his escape into the Wilderness; but he took a contrary course, resolving to turn back again, and thereby deceive him, from whom he could hardly fly; which being done, they presently met the Pursuers, who little suspecting who was there, demanded only if they saw *Athanasius*, they answered they saw him a little above upon the River, whereupon the Governour pursued with all the Sails and Oars he could make, and *Athanasius* escaped thither, where he hid himself, and lay secure all the while the short storm continued. The *Alexandrians* afterward laboured to mediate in his behalf to *Julian*, who being resolved upon other courses now, besides those of meer Policy, returned nothing but Rebukes and Blasphemies to all Complaints, answering, that their Religion teacheth them to suffer patiently. But he being gone to his own place, the Cloud passed over, and the Skies clear, *Athanasius* returned the third time out of Banishment, being met with acclamations and other expressions of infinite joy by the Multitude.

Athanasius returns out of banishment.

24. Now all flock to adore the newly risen Sun, and, as the Custom is, all Sects and Factions labour to ingratiate themselves, and if they cannot make him wholly their own, yet render him favourable to their Party. The *Arians* stickled hard, but the *Semiarians* or *Macedonians* got before them, meeting the Emperour in his return from *Persia*, to whom, when they complained of the *Acacians*, or rigid sort of *Arians*, the Emperour rejected them, saying, he was for Peace, and an Enemy to Contention. *Acacius* himself perceiving how Matters stood, and that the Empire was devolved upon a Person who encouraged *Athanasius*, and had sent to him to draw up a Creed or Form of Faith, which he assembling his Suffragan Bishops, did as he was enjoyned, according to the *Nicene* Rule, was resolved not to make tryal of that condition to which he had been the Author of bringing many Orthodox Bishops. Fearing Banishment or the displeasure of the Prince, who yet declared he would force none, he brought several of his Followers to *Antioch*, where joyning with *Meletius*, they held a Council, and therein, as saith *Socrates*, acknowledged the Faith of one Substance, and ratified the

Nicene Creed; yet, as appeareth from St. *Hierome*, rejected the word *Homoufios*, or of the same Substance with the Father, as also *Anomæos*, or of a diverse Substance, and chose the word *Homoioufios*, as a mean betwixt both, as asserting the Son neither of the same, nor of diverse, but of like Substance with the Father, and so herein closing with the *Semiarians*. Their Faith they sent in a Supplicatory Letter to the Emperour, whose answer was, that he was for Peace, and should countenance and esteem such as were of that Principle and Opinion, for which *Themistius* the Philosopher, in the Oration intituled *Consul*, and made in his Commendation, extolled him to the Skies, because that in granting every Man his Liberty, he stopped the Mouths, as he said, of Parasites and Sycophants, which kind of Men (such as was *Acacius*) worship not the King of Heaven, but the Earthly Crown and Scepter, much like to *Euripus*, sometimes carried this way, and sometimes that.

25. But *Euzoius* Bishop of *Antioch* (of his own Faction,) and other *Arians*, little observed those Rules, who remembring their old Trade, endeavoured to bring *Athanasius* into an evil opinion of the Emperour, laying to his charge heavy Crimes, which the Emperour little regarded, yet either sent for by him, or of his own accord, (both which are written) he came to Court and fully satisfied him. Though the Emperour was for Peace and Liberty amongst Christians, yet made he a distinction betwixt them and *Pagans*, commanding the Idol Groves and Temples to be shut up, whereat the *Ethnicks* wandered abroad and hid themselves, and such as wore the *Pallium* or Philosophical Habit laid it aside, and put on the usual and common Attire; the Bloody and detestable Sacrifices, wherein they had taken their fill, during the Reign of *Julian*, were also taken away. And yet though he was very cordial for Christianity, and abhorred the Religion of *Pagans*, yet did he favour *Maximus* and *Priscus* the Philosophers, who had been of Council with *Julian*, and were the great Enemies of his Faith, for which, as also for his intention to adorn *Julian*'s Sepulchre at *Tarsus*, some who pry into the Secrets of God Almighty, think him taken away so shortly after by sudden death. However those Historians that write of these times condole his case, and it is their judgment, that as well the Ecclesiastical Affairs of the Church, as the Politick State of the Empire, would have much flourished, had it so pleased the great Disposer of all things, under his Government.

Jovian dies.

Vide supra & Socr. l. 3. c. ult.

26. *Valentinian* and *Valens* who succeeded him, were his Fellow Confessors, having both cast off the Military Girdle, and refused to Sacrifice to Idols. They prosecuted the Magicians, especially *Maximus* they handled roughly, who had not been only the cause of much mischief in general to Christianity, but had created trouble and danger to *Valentinian*. At their first beginning also they made a Law against Idolaters, forbidding the Celebration of their Mysteries by night. But it seems their Zeal was too quick, the times would not bear it, such an alteration in mens minds had the courses of *Julian* effected. Therefore by the violent importunity of *Prætextatus* a Pro-Consul, and a vehement defender of *Paganism*, they rather dispensed with, than abrogated it, as *Zozimus* writes. For the *Pagans* might take it the worse, because *Valentinian* in the beginning of his Reign, had published an Edict, whereby he granted liberty of Conscience to all, in which respect he is much commended by *Ammianus*. But such learned Christians as professing the Sciences, had been inhibited by *Julian*, they restored to their antient Liberty and Priviledge, by a Law enacted for that very purpose. Notwithstanding they were both Christians, there was great difference as to their Faith. *Valentinian* clave to the Doctrine of the *Nicene* Council, and troubled none of the contrary Perswasion. *Valens* being Baptized by *Eudoxius* the *Arian* Bishop of *Constantinople*, espoused not only the Opinions, but the Quarrels of that Party, raising a great Persecution against such as owned the Clause of *One Substance*.

Valentinian and *Valens* succeed.

C.Th. l. 7. de maleſ.

C. Th. l. 9.

C. Th. l. 6. de med. & profeſ.

Socr. l. 4. c. 1.

27. *Valens* lying at *Constantinople*, the *Macedonians* waited on him, and were not so forgetful as not to move him about the calling of another Synod, for the Establishment of the Faith. He thinking them of the Party of *Acacius* and *Eudoxius*, gave them License to meet together at *Lampsacus*, a Town scituate on the *Hellespont* toward *Asia*, where assembled, they established the Form of Faith long before published at *Antioch*, and confirmed at *Seleucia*. They condemned *Acacius* and *Eudoxius*, who were not in capacity at this time either to hinder this censure, or to revenge themselves by reason of the Commotions and Wars raised by *Procopius* the Tyrant. It seems that however these *Semiarians* spoke fair for the Son of God, yet they rather denied the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, which *Socrates* thought was a reason why so many of the *Macedonian* Sect in his days continued

Valens calls a Synod at *Lampsacus*.

Idem ibid. c. 2. & 4.

continued at *Lampsacus*. But their Decrees they send abroad to Bishops of their own Confession, and certain Legats to the Western Bishops, who in their Names subscribe to the *Nicene* Faith, and the Clause of *one Substance*. The Letter directed to *Liberius* Bishop of *Rome*, *Socrates* hath exemplified, as also his, in return to the Eastern Bishops, congratulating with them, that those who had formerly been drawn aside at *Ariminum*, and elsewhere, had now acknowledged the Truth, and made Reparation to the Honour of the Son of God. Thus was he imposed on, by the cunning especially of *Eustathius* Bishop of *Sebastia*, one who had been often deposed, and very skillful in such Arts as were conducing to make advantage of times and Persons, which he also did of this Letter. It seems that *Liberius* also had not let slip the opportunity afforded him under the time of *Julian*, of openly declaring against the *Arians*, which had reconciled him to his Flock, and obliterated the Memory of what he had done Eight Years before. *Socr. c. 11.*

28. In this same year which was the Second of their Reign, of Christ the 365. they themselves being Consuls, the Emperours made many Constitutions of Religious concernment. As one (*a*) which exempted Religious Virgins, Widows, and Pupils, from paying of Poll Money. Another (*b*) that Christians should not on the Lords-day be convened before the Officers of the Exchequer, in Prosecution of what *Constantine* had formerly Decreed concerning the observation of this day. A third (*c*) against Magical Arts. Another whereby was forbidden the Condemnation of Christians to the Gladiators, which Custom formerly abolished, had been revived by *Julian*. By a Fifth they increased the Authority and Jurisdiction of Bishops, formerly conferred on them by *Constantine*, and added to their Antient and Primitive Power. For when Persecutions ceased, and Christian Religion came once to be incouraged by the Prince, Bishops were constrained to erect Tribunals, which were much frequented, because as Temporal Commodities so Suits did increase. The Judgment, though it was not just the former in regard of the Form, many things being determined by the opinion of the Church, yet was it as * one observes, of the same sincerity. Whereupon *Constantine* seeing how profitable it was to determine Causes, and that by the Authority of Religion, which was most dear to the Professors thereof, captious Actions were discovered, which the Judges could not penetrate, made a Law that there should lye no Appeal from the Sentences of Bishops, which should be executed by the Sæcular Judges: And if in a Cause depending before a Sæcular Tribunal in any State thereof, either of the Parties, though the other contradict, shall demand the Episcopal Judgment, the Cause shall be immediately remitted unto him. Here the Tribunal of the Bishop began to be a common Pleading place, having Execution by the Ministery of the Magistrate, and to gain the name of Episcopal Jurisdiction, Episcopal Audience, and such like. Now the Emperours *Valentinian* and *Valens*, did much increase their Power, giving Bishops the care over all the Prizes of vendible things, and Authority to over-rule the Sellers in their Sale. How this their Power was either increased or diminished we shall see hereafter.

Several Constitutions of Religious concernment now made.

(a) *C.Th.l.4. de cens.*
(b) *C.Th l.10. de exact.*
(c) *L.8. de malef. De pœnis l. 8.*
* *Author. Hist. Conc. Trid. l.4.*
L.1 C.de Episc. audient.

29. But perceiving what influence the Reputation of a Monastical Life had at this time into the Affairs of the State, they command such Persons to be sought for, and pulled out their lurking places, as had deserted Civil Offices; and betaken themselves into the Wilderness. And (what seems of greatest importance as to the State of Religion of this present time) though the necessities of Affairs had constrained them to tolerate a Liberty, yet lest Christians might be constrained to defile themselves with the *Pagan* Superstitions, they took care, that they should not be set to the Custody of Idol Temples by a Constitution directed to *Symmachus* Præfect of the City, and dated on the Seventeenth of *November*, in these words, *Whatever Judge or Apparitor shall appoint men of the Christian Religion to the Custody of Temples, let him know that neither his Life nor Fortunes shall be spared.* By which Law the *Æditui* or ordinary Keepers of Temples cannot be understood, who anciently of course were appointed to watch the Treasures, Images, Furniture, and other things Sacred to such Employments, from Thieves and Robbers; for such were not appointed by Magistrates, but either by lot and designment out of the number of Priests, or by the Testaments, or appointment of the Founders. But extraordinary Keepers seem here to be meant, extraordinarily appointed by Judges and Magistrates, to preserve those Temples from Force and Violence. For it may well be supposed, that Christians, who were so ill treated during the Reign of *Julian*, and suffered infinite Indignities, offered both to their Religion and themselves, perceiving many lately erected in his time, perhaps out of the Spoils of Churches, and vexed moreover by

C.Th. l.1. de fide Catholica. Quisquis judex seu Apparitor ad custodiam Templorum hominem Christianæ Religionis adposuerit sciat non saluti suæ, non fortunis esse parcendum. Dat. 15. cal. Dec. Med. valentin. & valente Coss. Vide Jacob. Gothofred. de interdicta Christianorum cum Gentilibus communione.

by Toleration granted to their Persecutors, and something altered in their Tempers from the patience of their Prædecessors, would hardly hold off their Hands from executing their Indignation and Spleen against the *Pagan* Rites and Temples, and that within the Præfectship of *Rome*, holden at this time by *Symmachus*.

30. Hereupon grievous Complaints being made by *Pagans* to the Magistrates, they (it is very probable) appointed their Officials Apparitors or Serjeants, to press Men to watch and guard the Temples, being very many, if not most of them both now, and long time after of that Religion, such as this *Symmachus* himself was. Now they, though they had Officers enough of their own (for Cities especially) or had the Power of pressing sufficient numbers, yet out of Envy and Revenge, they would punish Christians by the Preservation of what they so desired to destroy, and forced them to this Employment, wherein their Eyes, Ears, Noses, and all their Sences could not but be contaminated, vexed, and provoked by their Sacrifices, Incense, Prayers, and other Rites, their Complaints making Melody to the *Pagans*, who thereby had opportunity to insult. How grievous to a Christian those abominable Rites were, *Valentinian* himself was very sensible, who having, when an Officer about the Person of *Julian*, waited on him to a Temple, was sprinkled by the Priest with their Holy Lustral Water, which he received with such Indignation, as he returned the affront with blows. Being sensible therefore of the Indignity hereby both intended and offered to Christian Religion, he forbad the thing by this severe Edict, at the Suit and Petition of *Liberius* Bishop of *Rome*, or some of that City where this intollerable Servitude was imposed. Therefore was this Constitution directed to *Symmachus* now Præfect there, as also that we have even now hinted against the Condemnation of Christians to the sport of Gladiators, which sport as yet could not be removed; but seeing the *Pagans* were so tenacious of it, he would not have them double their pleasure by such objects. But as all Christians were not free from Crimes, so did he not exempt them from all Punishments, but only such as were opprobious to their Profession. They were therefore lyable to that of the Bakers, a Body of Malefactors serving the City in that Imployment inforced also by another Rescript of this same Emperour, to the said *Symmachus*, which seems with those other two to have made one entire Constitution, in which we have longer insisted, to make out the State and Condition of the times.

Soz. l.6.c.6. Theod. l.4.c.5.

31. *Valens* being to undertake the Expedition against *Procopius*, thought fit to be Baptized, and received that Sacrament from the hands of *Euzoius* the *Arian* Bishop of *Constantinople*, commended to him by his Wife, to whom he swore to defend that Hæresie to the utmost. Not long after he called a Synod at *Singedinum* a City of *Pannonia*, wherein it was accounted sufficient to assert the Sons *Likeness* to the Father. But the Legates sent into the West by the Council of *Lampsacus*, maintained the Controversie against those *Arians*, finding no greater countenance than in *Illyricum*, where a Council being assembled by the Authority of *Valentinian*, that Legates should be sent back to the *Orientales*, both in the Emperours Name and theirs, to take notice of their former Message, to applaud their Faith and Courage to assert it, and promise them all constancy on their part, with all good Offices to be performed. This same Year died *Acacius* Sirnamed *Luscus* Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Palæstine*, the *Antesignanus* of the *Arians* who chose to succeed him *Euzoius* another of that Profession, not the same with him, who in the time of *Constantius*, as we said, was ordained Bishop of *Antioch*.

Valens is Baptized.

Theod. l.4.c.8,9. Socr. l.4. c. 11. Vide Jacob. Cappellum ad A. D. 366.

32. The Year following, which was the Fourth of these Emperours, died *Liberius* Bishop of *Rome*, into whose See was *Damasus* elected, after it had been void six days. But he being of *Fælix* his Party, though constituted Vicar by *Liberius*, great Dissentions arose, and the Dissenting Party made choice of *Ursicinus* a Deacon of that Church to succeed *Liberius*. Such a Schism and Tumult hence arose, that both Parties armed with Power as well as Animosity, betook themselves at length to their Weapons, to the great Scandal of Christian Religion, and Insultation of the *Pagans*, of whom *Ammianus* observes, that in one day were taken up out of one place, no fewer than One hundred thirty and seven dead Bodies, and *Vinentius* Præfect of the City, not able to quiet them, was forced to withdraw into the Suburbs. But *Damasus* got the better of his Adversary, and *Ursicinus* was banished to *Naples*, where he ceased not to foment the

Liberius Bishop of *Rome* dies.

Damasus

A Tumult about the Succession.

Vide quæ supra ex Ammiano.

the Schism, and promote his own Interest, against that of *Liberius*. This same year the Emperours, by their Rescript dated *May* the Fifth, commanded all Goals to be delivered at *Easter* of all Malefactors, except Sacrilegious Persons, Traytors, Poysoners, Adulterers, such as committed Rapes or Murder; and forbad any one to be removed from Prison to the Theatre to be punished. *C. th. l. 9. tit. 38. §. 3. & tit. 20 §. 11.*

33. About this time dyed *Donatus*, made Bishop of *Carthage* by the Faction of the *Donatists*, of whom he was the head, and main Actor, into whose place they chose one *Parmenianus*, as earnest a zealot of the same Sect. He presently brandished his Quill against the Orthodox Party, and for that being challenged to a publick Disputation, refused to entertain such Commerce with the Bishops, as *unclean Creatures*, whereas he esteemed himself and his Followers as the only *pure*, *undefiled*, and the *Children of God*. But *Optatus* Bishop of *Milenis* in *Numidia*, grappelled with him at his own Weapon, writing seven Books against him, wherein he chastized his Folly to purpose, yet treated his Person as a Brother; against that uncharitable and Hæretical opinion of his, that the Catholick Church was only in *Africk*, and that within the Communion of the *Donatists*, *Ticonius* an *African* also wrote, whom *Parmenianus*, having in vain exhorted by a Letter to revoke his opinion, did Excommunicate, as St. *Augustine* testifies in his Writings also against *Parmenianus*. During those stirs in *Afrrick*, *Italy* was still disquietted by the Schisms in the *Roman* Church, though *Prætextatus* the Præfect of *Rome*, and an Heathen, used all means possible to compound the differences, amongst which was banishment of some of the Party of *Ursicinus*: The Emperour gave him order to prohibit all of that Faction, any ingress into the City, thinking this would be sufficient, but they still continuing resolute, and chusing rather to meet together privately, and in Conventicles, than to communicate with those that sided with *Damasus*; he commanded they should not be suffered to come within Twenty Miles of *Rome*.

The Sects of *Donatists*. *Hieron. de script. Eccles.* *Ammian. l. 27.*

34. This was much about the same time that *Valentinian* the Emperour, having dispatched the War against the *Allemans*, came to *Milan*, where granting out a Rescript in behalf of *Auxentius* Bishop of that City, a notable *Arian*; the zeal of *Hilarius* Bishop of *Poictiers*, was much stirred up to undeceive the Prince as to his apprehensions of him, and therefore came and accused him of Blasphemy, whereupon a time was appointed for them to be heard, by two certain Commissioners, assisted by some Bishops. *Auxentius* so worded it in this Assembly, by condemning the Person of *Arius*, and colouring his profession, that he went away with the credit, and *Hilary* was esteemed as an envious Person, a slanderer, and sower of discord, who dyed not long after, having given an account of the conference, in an Epistle directed to all Catholicks, that they might shun the Communion of the said *Auxentius*. *Hilary* dyed at his own See at *Poictiers*, and became so famous for his writings, and adherings to the Orthodox Faith, that he hath obtained the Reputation of a Saint, having a Church in the upper part of the City consecrated to his memory, wherein they shew a Room appointed to the keeping of a certain Trunk of a Tree made hollow, they say by his Bile or Choler, called the Cradle of St. *Hilary*, into which they put Mad-men, and think that by virtue thereof they recover their Senses. Hereupon such as upbraid one another with madness, bid them to be gone to St. *Hilary*'s Cradle, though they tell such like stories also at St. *Tubery* another Town of *France*, in the Province of *Narboune*. In the great Church also of *Poictiers*, dedicated to St. *Peter*, and founded by our *Henry* the Second, they show part of that Apostles Beard, which they say was brought thither from *Rome* by St. *Hilary*, at his return from a Council held there against the *Arians*.

de St Hilarie. *Vide Itimetta. Gallier. p. 99.*

35. The warning which *Hilary* had given concerning *Auxentius*, seems to have had this effect, that some Councils were called, wherein he, and others of his Complices, were condemned, yet he kept his Bishoprick till he resigned his life and it together. Much about the same time that *Hilary* dyed, *Eusebius* Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia* left this life, into whose place was brought *Basil* with much adoe, who foreseeing what would follow, had withdrawn himself out of the way, but was elected notwithstanding, by the procurement especially of *Gregory Nazianzen*. His Brother *Gregory* was about the same time Ordained Bishop of *Nyssa*, a City of the same Country, who is gently blamed by *Nazianzen* for giving his mind to the study of Rhetorick, rather more than became a Christian Man. But they were scarcely warm in their Sees, when they forced to disllodge by *Valens*, *Naz. in conc. Basil & Ep. 21. 23.*

Valens banishes the Orthodox Bishops

Valens, who though he had stood rather neuter, before his Baptism by the *Arian* Bishop, yet afterward remembring the vow he had made to promote that Heresie, and continually encouraged by his Wife, which the *Arians* were so wise as to make their own, he first Patronized that Sect, and then fell upon persecution of the Orthodox. He published an Edict for the banishment of such as being formerly sent into Exile by *Constantius*, had returned upon the promotion of *Julian*; and forasmuch as many since that time had been ordained, care was taken that they should be condemned in Synods called for that purpose; by virtue of those tricks were driven into Exile, *Gregory* Bishop of *Nyssa*, *Basil* his Brother, *Eusebius* Bishop of *Samosata*, *Pelagius* of *Laodicea* and others. About which time *Eudoxius* Bishop of *Constantinople*, the Confident and Ghostly Father of the Emperour, went to his own place, after he had held that See Eleven Years. In the third Consulship of *Valentinian* and *Valens* Emperours, the Seventh of their Reign, of the *Rome* 1123. *A. D.* 370. *Sozom. L. 6. c. 12.*

36. Into his place the Orthodox party Elected *Evagrius*, a Man of their own opinion, who having been called out of Exile by *Jovian*, at that time remained in secret at *Constantinople*, to assist and confirm such as were of the Faith of *one substance*. But the *Arians* made choice of *Demophilus*, whereupon arose such Contests and Disorders, that *Valens* then lying at *Nicomedia*, fearing worse, sent great numbers of armed Men into the City, and drove *Evagrius* into banishment. The *Arians* grown insolent at this success, and as knowing whom they had to back them, heap all publick affronts and injuries upon their Adversaries, who thereupon betake themselves to the Emperour for redress, sending Eighty of the Priestly rank to *Nicomedia*, amongst whom *Urbanus*, *Theodorus* and *Menedemus* were most eminent. When they had opened their griefs, though he concealed much of his displeasure, yet he was so inraged as to give order to *Modestus* an Officer to apprehend, and put them to death, which order he executed in so strange a manner, as *Socrates* thought he was obliged to leave a description of it to Posterity: *Modestus* fearing to Execute them publickly, made them believe they should be banished, and for that purpose got them into a Ship, and thereby to be conveyed into Foraign Countries; but gave in charge to the Seamen that as soon as they came upon the Main, they should fire the Vessel and there leave them; they obeyed their orders to the full, for after they were come into the *Astacen Sea*, they conveyed themselves into a Boat, and set fire to the Ship, which was driven by a strong Eastern Gale into the Haven called *Dacidazus*, where, together with her Fraight, she burnt down to the Water. This cruelty, saith *Socrates*, was revenged from Heaven by a grievous Famine, which sorely afflicted *Phrygia*, whence the Inhabitants were forced to flye to *Constantinople*, and other Provinces for relief. Of which Famine St. *Hierome* also maketh mention at the Seventh year of the Emperour *Valens*.

His cruelty to those at *Constantinople*.

Vide Socr. L. 4. c. 13.

In Chron.

37. Some Bishops yet escaped the rage of these tempestuous times, rather secured by that veneration which their sanctity struck into the Persecutors, than out of any merciful inclination; amongst which where *Paulinus* of *Antioch*, *Epiphanius* Bishop of *Salamina*, and *Basil*, who being tampered with to no purpose to change his Religion, was condemned to banishment, when the Son of *Valens* the Emperour fell sick, upon which accident execution of the sentence was stopped, and he was sent for to pray for the Health and recovery of the Child, of such force is Conscience to force an owe and acknowledgment, where Interest and passion are prædominent, some say, he promised recovery of the Child, on condition the Emperour would turn to the Orthodox Faith, which he refusing, *Basil* left off Praying, and so the Child dyed; others write that the condition was of bringing up the Boy in the Catholick Religion, some make it of not Baptizing him by *Arians*, others of their notpraying for him; but however the Child miscarried. *Theodoret* delivers it for a truth, that *Valens* taking Pen in hand to subscribe to the banishment of *Basil*, could not cut one Letter, but spoyling three Pens one after another, at last proceeding to attempt it, he was seized with a trembling in his hand, whereat astonished, he tore the Paper; yet proceeded he to persecute at *Cæsarea*, such as held the Doctrine of *one substance*, and removing to *Antioch*, drove *Meletius* into Exile, turned the Priests out of their Churches, and here, as well as in other places throughout the East, tormented them, and made them away by several sorts of deaths, especially by drowning in the Sea.

He persecutes others.

Socr. Sozom Theod.

38. The

38. The Orthodox Christians in those times of Persecution not knowing well where with safety to meet together to serve God, repaired to the Church of St. *Thomas* the Apostle, at *Edessa* in *Mesopotamia*, in great numbers, which being understood by *Valens*, who in his Journey to *Antioch*, went to see that stately Fabrick, he gave the Governour a blow with his Fist, because he had not scattered those Conventicles, according to his former injunctions: He notwithstanding so publick an affront, gave notice to those Christians of the Emperours pleasure, as unwilling to put them all to death, but they nevertheless would not give over their meetings, which continued as full and frequent as formerly. Hereupon with a sufficient power of armed Men he marches down to execute his Orders upon such as he found in the Temple, and in his way meets a poor Woman, which having her young Son in her hand, hasted thither, and unwilling to be put out of her way, thrust her self into the midst of the ranks to march along with them; he beginneth to ask her questions, to tax her folly, and expostulate with her, for her rash thrusting her self into most certain destruction, she plainly tells him, she was going where the People of God were met, and was so far from being deterred with his threats, that she said she made what haste she could, lest she should come to late, and fail of serving God by Martyrdom; he then demanded of her, wherefore she carried with her the little Child, to which she replyed, that he might also meet with the same measure, and receive the like reward. Hereat as way laid, this Officer repairs to the Emperour, and telling the story, lays before him the resolution of the whole company, and the infamy to which he would expose his Reign by such a Massacre. Hereupon he desists, having so far already proceeded in those Cruelties, that some Rivers blushed at the Bloody Massacre of Innocents, receiving a crimson tincture from their slain Bodies.

Designs a Massacre.

39. The Edict concerning the Banishment of Bishops, who had been Exiled formerly by *Constantius*, it may well be supposed fell as foul upon *Athanasius* as any. This Edict being backt with threats of severe proceedings against such Officers as should fail to execute what was enjoyned, the Præfect of *Ægypt* lets *Athanasius* know what he was to expect, and prepare for it accordingly. The *Alexandrians* aware of the storm, had resolved to secure him from it, if possible, and send word back to the Governour, that *Athanasius* was not comprized in the Edict; for though he was banished by *Constantine*, yet had *Constantius* restored him, and he had been driven into Exile by *Julian*, suffering rather more than any other Bishop by his direct command, from which he had also been restored by *Jovian*. When this would not satisfie, they plainly signified their resolutions to protect him by force, which so moved the Governour, that fearing a revolt, he demurred, and promised all security to *Athanasius*, till he could further understand the Emperours pleasure; but the Bishop was too much versed in such business, to be so lulled a sleep, for either discovering by his own foresight, what would follow, or receiving intelligence from some private Friend, he was aware of the Governours coming, and removed himself thither, where he was not easily to be found, the Governour coming in a dark and Tempestuous night, and finding the Bird flown, was much disturbed with the disappointment, and when all Men admired where he could lye so close, they variously discoursed of the matter; his Enemies said, as formerly upon such occasions, that he was a Conjurer and dealt with the Devil, some of his Friends attributed it to Divine Revelation, and indifferent Persons could not but very much apprehend his Sagacity. But he lay hid, it's said, in his Fathers Monument for some Months, till *Eudoxius* being dead, *Valens* became more peacably inclined towards the Orthodox Bishops.

Sox. l. 6. c. 12.

Athanasius forced to shift for himself.

40. The Eastern Church groaning thus under Persecution, could not but justly expect some assistance and comfort from that of the West. The Orthodox Bishops having consulted together, Commissionate *Basil* to write to their Brethren, requiring their assistance, especially that of the *Italians* and *French*, who were nearer the Emperour *Valentinian*, and of greatest Interest with him, who, they desired, might be moved to write to his Brother, and take him off from this severe course; but little good came of it, more than some com-

Basil. Ep. 78. &c.

comfortable Letters written to those under Persecution. The Bishop of *Rome*, who by reason of his See, was first in order, and most concerned to stickle in their behalf, meddling little, or rather stifling those complaints, lest by offending *Valens*, he should make him his Enemy, and cause him to Patronize the Plea, and pretence of *Ursicinus*, who having been banished into *Gall*, was now permitted to return into *Italy*, on condition that he came not within the *Suburbicarian* Countries; therefore might *Basilius*, as he did, write again and again, insomuch that when some pressed for a fourth Message to be sent into the West, he dissuaded it, bidding them rest contented, and leave off their intreaties, for he was proud, and no good was to be expected. *Basil* had a large share of trouble, not only in respect of the *Arian* Persecution, but through misunderstandings of the Orthodox Party, being accused of several Errors, by reason of the obscurity or strangeness of some expressions about the three subsisteneies of the blessed *Trinity*, which mistakes he cleared sufficiently by several Writings, and after his death, his great Friend and admirer *Gregory Nazianzen* wiped off such aspersions as lay upon his memory, who was also of the Party in some other troubles which he underwent. *Ep. 10.*

41. This *Gregory* was the Son of *Gregory* Bishop of *Nazianzum* in *Cappadocia*, whence he had the Syrname of *Nazianzen*, being born * after his Father was in Orders, and as it seems, after he was made Bishop of that place, which was about the Year 325. From which, to the time we now write of, intervened Forty five. He had a younger Brother called *Cæsarius*, and a Sister, also younger than himself, by Name *Gorgonia*, of whom, he seems a very accomplished Person, and was very well esteemed at Court: *Gregory*, as also his Brother, being well seen in Learning already, went in his Youth to *Athens*, at this time the most flourishing University of the East, where he contracted a familiarity with *Basil*, and had occasion of making such observations upon *Julian*, who studied there also at the same time, as enabled him to give him that Character we have formerly mentioned; at *Athens* he was detained some time, to read Oratory, but withdrawing himself thence, he was afterwards invited to Court by *Julian*, who had taken especial notice of him; but detesting his Apostacy and Principles, he refused the Attendance, and drew off his Brother from the same Imployment: Retiring to a solitary life with *Basil*, he composed two Orations against *Julian*, and being e're this ordained Priest, was afterward called home by his Father, to assist him in his Episcopal Function, in which Imployment he continued, till *Basil* drew him very unwilling into the Episcopal Rank. For *Cappadocia* being divided into *First* and *Second*, as *Basil* was Bishop of the former, his See being at *Cæsarea*, so *Authimicus* was of the later, whose Seat was at *Tyana*, betwixt them happened great Controversies, about the extent of their Jurisdiction, which caused *Basil* to erect some other Bishopricks within his Diocess, and amongst the rest one at *Sasima*, over which with much adoe was set *Gregory*. But this composed not the differences, so that he perceiving he should offend, both by the one and the other, *Authimicus* being resolute and chollerick, he withdrew himself again to a solitary life, but this displeasing his Father, he obeyed his commands, returning to his assistance as long as the old Man lived.

* ὕπερ τοσοῦτον ἐκμεμάρηκας βίου ὅσος διηλθε θυσιῶν ἐμοὶ χρόνος, &c. Ita Patrem inducit eum alloquentem latine de vita sua edit. Morelli Paris. Tom. 2. p. 9. alibi passim.

42. But we must return to *Athanasius*, and take our last farewel of him, who having now finished his long and troublesome course, was to receive his Crown. *Valens* wearied with his own Persecutions, or rather understanding how the *Alexandrians* were affected towards their Bishop, for fear of Commotions suffered him to return in quiet to his See, and there spend his last days, which he knew could not be very many. This was two or three years which he spent not only in Affairs of his own Province, but of the Catholick Church also, assisting by his advice and Council his Fellow Bishops, and contending for the *Nicene* Faith, where there was occasion. His Master found him so doing after he had governed the Church of *Alexandria* Six and forty Years, and weathered out so many Storms of Persecution under *Constantine*, *Constantius*, *Julian*, and *Valens*, that for Labours and Suffering *Socr. l. 4. c. 16.*

Valens suffers *Athanasius* to return to *Alexandria*.

Suffering next after the Apostles, he seemeth to discern the first place, and living in the Memory of Christians to all Posterity hath justly obtained the Syrname of the *Great*. He was a Pillar, saith *Nazianzen*, holding forth the Mystery of Godliness against Spiritual Wickednesses in high places, meek and gentle, seldom angry; for which cause he was not unacceptable to his very Enemies, of a couragious Spirit, especially in danger; not ambitious, yet of excellent Parts both for Learning and Prudence. His Personage was comely, his Countenance Angelical, Affable and Courteous, yet Grave. His Speech was proper, concise and acute, his delivery pleasing. His Doctrine came to be accepted of by the Churches, and his Confession of Faith a Rule to theirs, even to this present day. Such was his Sagacity, that by Gods Blessing he miraculously escaped all such Plots, Devices, and Ginns, as were laid for him, which made the *Arians* say he was a Conjurer, and forasmuch as in the Legend of St. *George*, we read that he was opposed by a Conjurer of this Name, we may conclude that they corrupted the true Story, changing *George* the *Saint* for *George* the *Arian* Usurper, as they dealt with all other sorts of Histories. The death of *Athanasius* fell into the Ninth Year of *Valentinian*; of *Rome* the 1125. *A. D.* 372. *Fl. Modestus* and *Fl. Arintheus* being Consuls.

Ἀγγελικὸν τὸ εἶδος, ἀγγελικὴν δὲ καὶ διδασκαλίαν.

Who dies.

43. Into the See of *Alexandria* the Catholick Party elected *Peter*, an ancient Presbyter of that Church. But the *Arians* produce *Lucius*, whom formerly they had chosen to succeed *George*, and resolving now that they would not be defeated, they send, and give an account to *Valens*, both of *Athanasius* his death, and what had ensued, who fully complying with them, appoints *Euzoius* the Bishop of *Antioch*, being assisted by a great Officer (some name *Magnus* the Quæstor, others *Palladius* Præfect of the Province, and a *Pagan*,) to see *Lucius* possessed of the Chair. Accordingly they either Imprison or drive away *Peter*, who perceiving no good was to be done, (some say he escaped out of Prison) got himself to *Rome*, and by his Epistles gave account to the World, of the most horrid Outrages committed by the *Arians*, by Killing, Imprisoning, and Banishing the Orthodox, no Sex, Age, nor Condition being spared. Therefore the *Arians* being few in number, yet backed by the Emperours Authority (who by an Edict commanded all such as hold the Clause of *one Substance* to be expelled) got Possession of all the Churches of *Alexandria*. Then were Religious Houses in the Desert spoiled and beaten down to the Ground, those who inhabited them making no resistance, and being slaughtered by the Soldiers in so Savage a manner, as cannot well be expressed.

Is succeeded by *Lucius* an *Arian*.

Vide Socr. l. 4. c. 16. Theod. l. 4. c. 18. Ruff. l. 2. c. 3.

Socr. c. 17.

44. So sad a change was made in the East, from St. *Athanasius* to *Lucius*. But in the second year after happened so happy a one in the West, as made a great Compensation to the Church, for her loss of so excellent a Pastor. *Auxentius* the *Arian* Bishop of *Milan*, whom St. *Hillary* had in vain laboured to remove, was now taken away by death, and great endeavours were used by both Parties for the choice of such a Man to succeed him, as might serve their Designs and Interests. *Valentinian* observing his rule not to meddle with Church Matters, had called to him the Bishops, and given them free Power to chuse whom they should think fit; but such a Tumult happened in the Church, in the heat of Contention, the People having a share in the Election, that *Ambrose* Governour of that Province, then in Town, fearing some great Inconvenience would follow, came to appease it. Having admonished them calmly to go to work about so serious a business, it came to pass that he himself was named to be Bishop, which he heard with much trouble, excused himself from the unfitness as well of his Person, as Abilities, being but a *Catechumenist*, whereas it was flat contrary to the Cannon of the *Nicene* Council, for such to be ordained. When no excuses would serve his turn, the Multitude being violently inclined towards him, he withdrew himself; but the Matter being referred to the Emperour, he acknowledged a particular Providence in the case, and forasmuch as it was contrary to the Laws, for any in Publick Imployments of the State, to be received into Orders, he most willingly granted a Dispensation.

Hieronym. in Chron.

St. *Hillary* Bishop of *Milan* dies.

Vita Ambrosii Theodoret. Socr. alii.

C. Th. de Episc. & Clericis. l. 3.

45. *Ambrose* in the mean time had made his escape from those whom the People had set to watch him; but upon notice of the Emperours pleasure, was brought forth, and then apprehending it his duty to submit to so signal a Providence, was Baptized on the last day of *November*, and consecrated on the Seventh of *December* following, both which days fell upon the first *Feria*. Though this Election was against express Cannons, yet was there much joy amongst all of the Orthodox Party, and Congratulatory Letters written to, and fro. And so highly were the Citizens of *Millaine* pleased with it, that, as * *Socrates* tells us, being formerly at discord amongst themselves, they thenceforth imbraced Peace and Unity. *Valentinian* it is said acknowledged the goodness of God towards him, that he had such an Officer as was fit to be made a Bishop; but he lived not long to see the happy Fruit of this Election, dying the year following at *Bergutium*, as we have already described the manner of his death. His humour was not to interpose much in Matters of the Church as to the Government thereof, saying, *It was not proper for him, being a Lay-Person*, and it is certain he did not meddle enough, suffering his Brother to act his pleasure against the Orthodox Party, of which yet he seemed to be a Member. But as he was unequally Yoaked with his Brother in the Empire, so with an *Arian* Wife in his Bed, which unlucky Conjunction so overpowered him, as to intercept and hinder that influence which else he might have had into the Peace and Tranquillity of the Church. Though he meddled little himself with the Discipline, yet as Emperour, he joyned with his Brother in the enacting of several Constitutions, which being of an Ecclesiastical Nature, and so conducing to the knowledge of the State of such Affairs, we must add to those we have formerly mentioned.

Is succeeded by *Ambrose*.

* C. 25.

Valentinian dies.

46. The first of these sufficiently discovers how unwilling he was to meddle with Church Matters in the case of *Chromatius* a certain Bishop, who, being condemned in a Synod of Seventy Bishops, from them appealed to the Magistrate. For so doing by a Rescript in the Sixth Year of his Reign, he and his Colleagues impose upon him a pecuniary Mulct, and take care for preventing the like in time to come. But as he was earnest for maintaining Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, finding what ease it procured to his Government, so was he sensible of the forward Zeal of Christians, who according to the Nature of Mankind, which is ever prone to one of the Extreams, thought they could never give enough to the Church, and that Women, especially acted by that fervent Devotion which is commonly seen in first Reformations to overrun discretions, lay open to the covetous designs of certain Church-men. For prevention hereof, in the Seventh year of his Reign, *Valentinian* and his Colleagues make the first Law of *Mortmain*, directed to *Damasus* Bishop of *Rome*, whereby Ecclesiastical Persons, Clerks, or Monks, are inhibited to receive any Inheritances, Legacies, or other Gifts from Women. Both *Hierome* and *Ambrose* take especial notice of the Cause, rather than the Edict it self, falling very foul upon the great and sordid Avarice of many Priests and Monks of that time, who accounting Gain to be Godliness, devoured Widdows Houses, and made a prey of silly Women laden with diverse Lusts. But this Law was afterward repealed, and others elsewhere of the same and larger nature, enacted, according to comportment of times, and the inclination of such as were possessed of Supream Power.

C. Th. l. 20. appel.

His Laws.

C. Th. l. 20. de Episc. & Cler.

47. This same year by another Rescript, they take care for the Reformation and Improvement of the Schools at *Rome*, wherein they forbid any Youths to stay longer than the Twentieth year of their Age, out of a Sense of the vitiousness of that City it seems; although the placing of Universities in Capital Towns, contributes much to the breeding of Youth, by acquainting it more with the World and Men; and prevents that Rusticity, to which Solitary and Monastical places are more subject. But the Year following several Constitutions were made, which shows the Temper of *Valentinian* very indulgent to *Pagans*, and indeed would make us jealous, that his suffering the Orthodox to be Persecuted, and his not meddling with Matters of the Church, proceeded from a great indifferency as to all Religion,

C. Th. de studiis liber. Rom. l. 1

C. Th. l. 1. de scen.

gion, and unwilling to trouble himself with things of that nature. For whereas Christians could not be Stage-players, but upon their Baptism changed that course of Life, he signified his Pleasure to be, that those *Scenici* being publick Slaves, destinated to the common Theatre, should not be Baptized before the point of Death. By another he conferred upon Priests of the *Gentiles*, the Honour that was wont to be given to *Excomites*. But what was of most Consequence, by another Constitution they permit to *Pagans* the use of the *Aruspicina*, provided it were executed without Magick, and give therewith liberty to every Man to profess what Religion he pleased. These things vehemently inculcate a suspition of his lukewarmness, or (which is fully as probable) declare to us the Constitution of the times, to have been such as inforced him to slacken the Reins of his Government, *Paganism* being yet so common and prævalent, as to make such a Party for strength and Interest, as the Scepter was not in any fair Capacity to crush it.

C. Th. l. 7. de decur.

C. Th. l. 9. de malef. tit. 16. § 9.

48. For this reason in Charity we may believe, he suffered the Altar of *Victory* still to remain in the *Capitol*, and thereto the *Pagan* Senators to pay their Devotions, for we cannot well imagine he could be ignorant of such a practice: And permitted the *Ethnicks* so far to abuse his Indulgence, as not only to use the old, but erect new Altars for fresh Sacrifices, as it appears they did by several Inscriptions. The Year following being the Ninth of his Reign, he makes a sharp Law against the *Manichees*, prohibiting their Meetings, fining their Teachers, and confiscating the Houses where they held their Conventicles; whilst his Brother *Valens* imploys himself in furnishing Libraries at *Constantinople*. In that following, by another Law he restrains the Practice of Rebaptizing, used so much by the *Donatists* in *Africk*. And although leave was given to *Pagans* to sin against the Law of *Faith*, yet not against that of *Nature*; if as Christians the Emperours would not restrain them, yet as Princes and as Men. Therefore whereas they assumed the Ancient Barbarous Power of Life and Death over their Children, thinking it a small matter to kill their Infants, by a Constitution in the Eleventh of *Valentinian*, that unnatural Custom is taken away. As for that Law mentioned by *Socrates*, whereby out of love to *Justina*, he should give liberty to all Persons to Marry two lawful Wives, it may justly be suspected of falsehood. For by Heathen Writers he is said to have been very Chast, that *Justina* which *Socrates* would have a Virgin, had been Wife, as appears from *Zozimus*, to *Magnentius* the Tyrant, and Married to *Valentinian* after the Death of *Severa*. It was a thing so contrary to Christianity, that Heathens themselves disapproved it. Neither do the Historians of those times make mention of such a Passage. Only *Socrates* who lived long after, and such as received it on trust from him. For *Valentinian* it may be said, that he was a Christian Emperour, and had been a Confessor before he reached that Dignity. On the other side it may be believed, that through his connivance at his Brothers Actions, the *Pagans* had far better quarter during his Reign, than had the Orthodox Christians themselves.

Ambros. Ep. ad Valentin. Jun.

Vide Inscript.

C. Th. l. 3. de hæret.

C. Th. l. 14. de studiis liberalibus tit. 9. §. 2.

C. Th. l. 9 tit. 14. §. 1.

49. At the same time as *Valentinian* died, his Brother *Valens* then at *Antioch* with greater violence Persecuted the Orthodox Party, till *Themistius* the Philosopher took off the edge of his hatred, by shewing him that there were greater and many more Dissentions amongst *Pagans* in reference to Religion: than amongst Christians about Matters of Faith. Yet did he but divert the Storm upon the Monks of this time, upon whom he looked as Fugitives from the Commonwealth, and such as cast off those Obligations which nature and their Country had laid upon them, to betake themselves to a course of idleness. Having formerly laid such Burthens upon them again, as *Constantine* and *Constantius* had taken from off their shoulders; by another Rescript, he now commands them to be pulled by the Ears out of their Monasteries, and listed in the Army, or upon refusal to be knocked in the Head, whereupon great Outrages were committed upon this sort of People about this time, and they received Letters full of comfort from several eminent Ecclesiasticks of this Age, who were generally affected to the Monastical Life. At the same time *Gratian*

Soz. l. 6. c. 25. Socr. l. 4. c. 27.

C. Th. de Decur.

Valens severe towards Monks

Oros. l. 7. c. 33. Hieron. in Chron.

tian in the West ran a contrary course, who succeeding to his Fathers Principles, as to Religion, yet, out of a sence it seemeth of his remisness in point of Discipline, and too great Indulgence towards the *Arians*, the Year after his death, forbids their Assemblies under the notion of Hæretical Conventicles, and confiscates the places of their Meetings. The same Year also the Three Emperours, *Gratian*, *Valentinian*, and *Valens*, joyn in a Constitution for the regulating of Ecclesiastical Causes, ordaining that the lesser sorts of Faults should be heard and determined in Diocesan Synods, but greater Crimes by higher Powers. In the mean while *Paganism* rather recovered strength than otherwise, the *Gentiles* erecting many Monuments of their Superstition, as to the *Mother of the Gods*, *the Great Gods*, (*Dii Magni*) and at this (the Daughter of *Gnaeus*, which gave name to the Country of *Attica*) the Emperours conniving at this Practice, as not able to resist that Impiety, which had been fostered to such a degree of vivacity by *Julian*, as was to be dulled and abated by time, before the Scepter could give it its fatal stroak.

C.Th. de hæret. l. 4.

C.Th.l.16.tit.2. §. 23.

Inscript. Gruteri p.28.

50. But *Valens*, being at length taught some Moderation by Afflictions, having received a great overthrow from his Enemies, which was seconded with dreadful Pestilence and Famine, began to be more favourable to the Orthodox Bishops, recalling them out of Banishment, though he did not restore them to their Sees. Yet they at *Alexandria* took heart, and being encouraged by the Letters which *Peter* their Bishop brought from *Damasus* Bishop of *Rome*, they expelled *Lucius* from the Bishoprick, who got him in all hast to *Constantinople*, and confirmed *Peter* in his Seat, wherein he sate but a short time, for he died not long after, and left his Brother *Timothy* to succeed him. This same Year the Emperours, by a Constitution, exempt all Clerks from Personal Imployments. And *Gratian* by another Rescript, restrains the *Donatists* in *Africk* from their common practice of Rebaptizing, as also the Assemblies of the *Manichees*, amongst whom was *Augustine* a young Man of the Age of Three and twenty, of which number the odd Three he had spent as an Auditor and Novice in their Discipline. He was born, as he himself writes, at *Tagaste* a Town of *Numidia*, in the Nineteenth year of *Constantius*, and the Consulship of *Arbetio* and *Lollianus*, on the Thirteenth of *November*. His Mother *Monica* being left a Widdow about the Seventeenth year of his Age, a most Religious Matron, was much afflicted for him, seeing him run such a course of Hæresie and loosenes. And not only by her importunate Prayers and Tears laboured for his Conversion; but dealt with such as she thought most able to convince him of his Folly, to reason him out of the *Manichæan* Errors, and urged thereunto a certain Orthodox Bishop, especially, who thinking it not seasonable as yet to incounter him whilst young, hot, and newly entred into that course, he abounded so much in his own sence, she still followed him, weeping and bewailing her Sons condition. With which when the good Man was wearied, and could not put her off, he bad her, *Go her ways, for it could not be, that a Son of those Tears could perish*; as we shall see it came to pass.

Hieron. in Chron. Oros. l.7. c. 73.

C. Th. l. 16. t. 2. §. 24.

C.Th. ne sanct. bapt. iter.

De vita beata & Confess.

51. But such is the condition of this present life, that as one comes upon the Stage of the World to act his part, another passeth off, having done his duty, which was the lot of *Basil*, the great Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*, who dyed on the first day of *January*, and of the following Year: A Man of such esteem in his life time, that what ever he did was accounted a sufficient and warrantable Pattern, and even such passages as in another would have been accounted defects, as proceeding from him, were taken for no other than perfections; when dead, so precious was the memory of him, that through the great crowd at his Funeral, whilst Multitudes flocked to pay him their last respects, many were pressed to death. His Abstinence and Austerity of life, were such, that he only fed upon Bread and Salt, and drank nothing but pure Water; contented himself with one Coat and Gown, and made the ground his Bed; he was of tall and uppright Stature, dry and lean in his Body, blackish wannish Complexion, had a large Nose, a round Forehead, wrinckles in his Face, long

Basil Bishop of *Cæsarea* dies.

Ὁ Κόσμος σχῆμα ὁ βίος πάρεστος.

Naz.

Baron. ex Anonym. codice vatican.

long Vizaged, had hollow Temples, wore a great Beard, was somthing gray, and looked thoughtfully; he is said to have præscribed Rules of living to Monks, Clerks, and Lay-Persons: Yet this *Assetica* ascribed to him, are not to be found amongst the rest of his Works, in the Catalogue of *Nazianzen.* And *Eustathius* who Instituted the Monastical life in *Armenia*, hath been by some esteemed the Author of them; the Rule also going under his Name, is justly suspected, forasmuch as there is no mention of it in *Nazianzen*; and there is another said also to be his, which contains only Thirty five Chapters. In the midst of his Book concerning the Holy Ghost, *Erasmus* thinks some things inserted which are no wise like his. His Epistle to *Cæsarea Patricia* is also suspected. And the Book written of his life, under the Name of *Amphilochius* is by all Parties accounted spurious, being full of Fables and things repugnant to other good Histories, and therefore unworthy of credit in the opinion of *Baronius* himself.

Sozom. l. 3. c. 13.

Vide Jacob. Duplicat. contr. Hardart. 1. §. 33. Ad. A. D. 378.

52. A Month after the death of *Basil*, dyed also *Ephræm* the Deacon at *Edessa*, on the first day of *February*, a Man of extraordinary Sanctity, whose Vertues are much set forth by *Gregory Nyssen*, in an Anniversary Oration. And this year was the last also of *Valens* the Emperour, whom as we may say, the *Goths* burning a live after a defeat in Battel, thereby revenged upon his Body the injury he had done to their Souls, by seducing them from the Orthodox Faith to the *Arian* Hæresie. His death brought a new life and resuscitation of the ancient Heat and Vigor into the Eastern Churches; which *Gratian* by a seasonable Law for Restitution of all banished Persons to their proper Places, so cherished, that the Catholick Doctrine began speedily to flourish again. Yet so powerful was the *Arian* Faction, that he thought it unseasonable to apply any sudden remedy to that Sore, and therefore he gave liberty of conscience to all excepting the *Euxomians*, *Photinians* and *Manichees*, the grosser sort of Hæreticks. But that the Catholicks might not be overpowered by Faction or Interest, and receive the full benefit he intended them, *Theodoret* tells us, he sent into the East one *Sapores*, a Man of great note, who published an Edict at *Antioch*, and turned the *Arians* out of those Churches into which they had intruded. The Orthodox Bishops incouraged by his presence, and the favour of *Gratian*, met together at *Antioch*, where consulting how they might best improve the opportunity God had given them for the resuscitation of the true Faith, and prosperity of the Churches, they first composed differences betwixt *Meletius* and *Paulinus*, both Bishops of that Church, ordaining, that the Survivour should be immediately seized of the Bishoprick upon the others decease, without any farther Election, to which award they bound by oath Six of the Principal Presbyters of the Church, who seemed most fit to stand as Competitors at the next Vacancy of the See.

Valens burnt alive by the *Goths.*

Gratian restores the banished Orthodox in the East.

Socr. l. 5. c. 2.

Soz. l. 7. c. 1.

L. 5. c. 2.

53. Hereby was removed much matter of Scandal, for the case of those two Persons had occasioned great Tumults and Seditions. The Friends of *Meletius*, as *Socrates* writes, would have joyned them together in the Episcopal Function; but *Paulinus* objected it was against the Canons, for any Ordained *Arian* Bishops to execute that Office, and when he would not consent, the People endeavoured to effect it by force, making preparations for his Installment in a certain Church within the Suburbs. This being done, all the City was in an uproar, and great dissentions continued amongst the People, till this means of reconciliation was found out, wherewith the Multitude was fully quieted, only the Favourers of *Lucifer*, who had Ordained *Paulinus*, were offended with this Manner of dealing, and took hence occasion (to make (saith *Socrates*) or rather) to continue Schism, pretending that *Meletius* being Ordained by *Arians*, could not possibly be admitted to the Government of that See. But the Bishops having thus removed this notorious Dyssore, appointed certain eminent Bishops to visit other Churches of the East, and to *Constantinople* was *Gregory Nazianzen* sent, which of all others stood most need of an able Physician. Yet, as it happeneth

L. 5. c. 5.

Some Heresies revived.

happeneth to those, who have to do with such distempered Persons, as account their Diseases health; his kindness was returned with opprobrious Language: And as *Licurgus* of old, when he acted the Physician of the State, they cast Stones at him, all which Indignities he bore with great pity and patience, continuing three years in this imployment, wherein he made those five famous Orations, concerning *Theology*, which deservedly procured him the Syrname of *the Divine*. *Carm. de vita sua.*

A discourse about *Hypostasis.*

54. At this time there was much ado made about the word *Hypostasis*, which some understanding in the same sence as *Substance*, condemned such as asserted three Hypostases in the Blessed *Trinity*, as those that hold three Gods; and on the contrary those, who took the word as it is used for *Subsistance* or *Personality*, it condemned such as rejected it, as guilty of the Hæresie of *Sabellius*. Of this sort it, seems was *Meletius*, who importuned *Hierome* to confess the *Hypostases*, but he refused to comply with him therein, and consulted *Damasus* Bishop of *Rome* by Letters. This Person whom the Church in all Ages since his time hath, and that deservedly so much esteemed, was born at *Stridon*, a Town of *Dalmatia*, where his Parents lived in good rank. In his Youth he travelled to *Rome* with *Bonosus* his Foster Brother, a young Man of a very great Fortune, where they became Auditors to *Donatus*, and performed their exercises in declaming, and otherwise, according to the Custom. Here when he arrived at ripeness of Age, he was Baptized, and then leaving that course of life, which formerly had been none of the strictest, he betook himself to great severities and laboriousness in Study: Afterwards he travelled *Gall*, *Pontus*, *Bithynia*, *Galatia*, *Cappadocia*, *Cilicia*, *Syria*, and *Thrace*, to improve himself by the Conversation of learned and Pious Men, and being much taken with the Lives and Rules of such as professed the monastical life in *Syria*, he was so allured by their example, that he chose the Desert of *Chalcis*, a Province lying betwixt the *Syrians* and *Saracens* for his abode. Here besides the constant practice of Scleragogy, he followed his book with great diligence, having got togather in this place a good Library, through the assistance of *Evagrius*, one of his Associates, a very rich and noble Priest, afterwards Bishop of *Antioch*. But that which much Crucified the contentment he received from this course of life, was the jealousie and suspicion, which he being a West-Country Man, incurred with the Eastern Monks, and the contention which followed about the word *Hypostasis*. *In Ep. passim. in chron. alibi.*

55. Having been formerly, whilst at *Rome*, acquainted with *Damasus* the Bishop (with whom he continued as *Amanuensis* for some time, till he was wearied with the vitiousness of the place) he consulted him by Letters, and at length tired with the importunities of *Meletius* and his Party, against whom, he seemed to patronize *Paulinus*, he returned unto him to *Rome*, after he had spent six or seven Years in that solitary course of life. Some say he first went to hear *Gregory Nazianzen* at *Constantinople*, where he spent three Years, and saw *Jerusalem* before his return to *Rome*. *Nazianzen* at the same time was visited by another Person of great Fame, one *Maximus* of *Alexandria*, a Christian made of a Cynick Philosopher, who boasted himself born of Martyrs, and had got repute for being banished for his Faith, into the Desert of *Oasis*; coming loaded with Fame to *Constantinople*, he was kindly received by *Gregory*, who honoured him with an Oration, made in his Commendation, of which afterward he changed the Title as written in praise of *Hero* his Companion; but in short time his design was discovered, which was to creep into the See of *Constantinople*, for which he had the incouragement of *Peter* the *Alexandrian* Patriarch; although he had formerly pretended to favour the cause of *Gregory*, who was very much desired by the People. Seven Bishops by him set on, when *Gregory* lay sick in the Suburbs, using the help of some *Alexandrian* *Vide Baronium ad Ann. D. 378. 379.* *Vide Naz. Contra Maximum & in carm. de vita sua ut suprà Edit. morell.*

andrian Marriners, whom they had hired for their purpose, privily in the Night endeavoured to thrust him into the Episcopal See; but the Alarm being given, they were beaten out of the Church by the Multitude; yet nothing hereat dismayed, afterward they cut of his Hair, which he wore now after the Cynick fashion, (for neither he, nor *Hero*, though they were Christians abandoned their former Habit, and Deportment, as *Nazianzen* reports of them) and Ordained him Bishop, in the house of a Player; which practice being abhorred by all, as well *Arians*, as others, he was driven out of the City: Betaking himself to *Theodosius*, from whom he received no incouragement, and being rejected also by *Peter* of *Alexandria*, he thereupon fell into discontent, and the Hæresie of *Apollinaris*.

Theodosius made Emperour.

56. This same Year which was the Fifteenth of *Gratian*, and the Fourth of *Valentinian* the Second, was very auspicious to the Church, in the promotion of *Theodosius* to the Empire, who mended much what had been marred by *Valens*. *Socrates* writes, that falling into a very dangerous Disease at *Thessalonica* (in the Second year) he was very desirous of Baptism, for of old he was trained up in Christian Religion, and addicted himself wholly to the Faith of *one Substance*. Having sent for *Acholius* the Bishop of the place, he demanded of him, of what Faith he was, to which *Acholius* answered, that the opinion of *Arius* prevailed not throughout *Illyrium*, neither was the new-found invention of his pestilent Brain planted in the Churches of that Country, but that all Christians throughout those Coasts retained that ancient Faith, which had been delivered by the Apostles, and continued by the Council of *Nice*; which the Emperour hearing, willingly received that Sacrament at his hands: A few days after being somewhat recovered, he went towards *Constantinople*, the Twenty fourth of *November*, in his first Consulship, and the Fifth of *Gratian*, where in the following Month he restored to the Catholicks those Churches which for forty years had been unjustly detained by the *Arians*, who in vain fretted at so great both disgrace and loss, especially of the great Church, which by force they were ready to maintain, till overpowered by a Band of Souldiers, sent by the Emperour. Thus by deeds did he confirm what he had formerly professed to the World, having at *Thessalonica* published a Law, wherein Prohibiting and condemning all Hæresies, he commands all his Subjects to imbrace that Faith which had by St. *Peter* the Apostle been commended to the *Romans*, and which at present *Damasus* Bishop of that See, and *Peter* of *Alexandria* (both whom he knew as, their Prædecessors for the most part to have been Orthodox in their opinions) owned and imbraced. At the same time and place, by another Rescript, he discountenanced all Violators, and breakers of Divine Law. And forbids by another, any Criminal Inquisitions to be made in Lent. This same year also those Emperours reinforcing the former Christian Custom, forbid such as were baptized, to be drawn back to the Service of the Stage.

L. 5. c. 6.

Is baptized.

Soz. l. 7. c. 5. Marcel. in Chron.

And is kind to the Church.

C. Th. l. 2. de fide Catholica.

C. Th. l. 25. de Episc. & cler.

C. Th. l. 4. de quæst.

C. Th. l. 15 de scenicis. §. 4.

57. The following year was fully as propitious to the Orthodox, wherein the Emperours prosecuting their Patronage already undertaken by another Law, commanded, that in all places their Churches be restored to them, prohibiting the *Arians*, *Photinians*, *Eunomians*, with other Hæreticks, to hold any Assemblies within the Towns. But *Theodosius*, who was the prime Author and procurer of those Laws, that he might not seem to carry on all things by force, and the terror of Imperial Authority, knowing how the *Arians* were addicted to Councils, and sufficiently understanding the interest and universality the Catholick Faith at this time obtained throughout the World, and not doubting of the good effects of a Council, which should be indifferent and free, and not clogged with the late force, and partiality of the *Arians*, he resolved to subdue them by their own Weapons. The Hæresie of the *Macedonians* who denied the Divinity

of the *Holy Ghost*, he especially intended to eradicate by this Council, having never had any such effectual proper Remedy as yet applyed, perswading himself that they were not of such obstinate and refractory principles as the *Arians*. And whereas the promotion of *Gregory Nazianzen* was much stomached by some sorts of Persons, upon the account of *Maximus*, *Demophilus*, and for other private respects, he resolved by this Council, which he summoned to *Constantinople*, to provide for the filling of that See. Accordingly he summoned the Bishops to Meet, though * *Damasus* Bishop of *Rome* was against the holding of this Council.

Summons a general Council to *Constantinople*.

* *Repugnante Damaso Baronius ad A.D.553.num.* 2

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

From the Second Oecumenical *Council summoned by* Theodosius *the First to* Constantinople, *to the Third called by* Theodosius *the Second to the City of* Ephesus.

The space of Fifty Years.

1. THE Second *Oecumenical* Council, summoned by *Theodosius* the Emperour to the City of *Constantinople*, met together in the Month of *May*, the Fifteenth year of *Gratian*, the Sixth of *Valentinian* the Second, the Third of *Theodosius*, Emperours, of old *Rome* the 1134. of *New Rome* the One and Fiftieth, the Seven and fiftieth after the Assembling of the *Nicene Synod*, the First of the Two hundred and ninetieth *Olympiad*, the Ninth *Indiction*, the Four hundred and nineteenth of the *Æra Hispanica*, *A. D.* 381. *Fl. Siagrius* and *Fl. Annius Eucharius* being Consuls.

2. Of those which imbraced the *Nicene Creed*, here met *Timothy* Bishop of *Alexandria*, who had succeeded *Peter* his Brother, after he had possessed that Chair Eight years, (however *Socrates* saith, he continued but a short time,) *Cyril* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, who now after his Recantation addicted himself to the Faith of *One Substance*; *Meletius* who had been called hither a while before to the Enstallment of *Gregory Nazianzen*, *Acholius* Bishop of *Thessalonica*, *Gregory Nyssen*, with others, to the number of One hundred and fifty Bishops. Of the *Macedonian* Sect also assembled to the number of Six and thirty, whereof the greater part from the *Hellespont*, and those of most note were *Eleusius* Bishop of *Cyzicum*, and *Maxianus* of *Lampsacus*. It being a very necessary Ingredient to the Legality and Authority of a General Council to have it free, we cannot imagine that *Theodosius* shut the Doors against the *Arians*, such as had been fairly possessed of their Bishopricks, or that he summoned this Council of such Bishops only as were of his Faith, which *Socrates* seemeth to affirm. But a good riddance had been made of the *Arians* out of the Churches, by those Laws enacted for Restitution of the Catholicks to their proper Sees, and the Custom of Titular and Supernumerary Bishops, (who cannot challenge such Interest in Church Matters) their thrusting into Synods to give voices not yet being received; their Party was inconsiderable, (if they adventured to be present, who were only valiant when backed with Authority,) and therefore no notice is taken of it.

Socr. l. 5. c. 8. lat.

Arians as well as others admitted to this General Council:

3. In this Council, at the beginning whereof *Gregory Nazianzen* præsided, were framed Seven Canons, "The First of which confirms the Faith of the "Three hundred and eighteen Fathers, who assembled at *Nice* in *Bithynia*, to "anathematize all Hæresie, especially of the *Eunomians*, *Arians*, *Macedoni-* "*ans*, *Photinians*, and *Apollinarians*. The Second prohibits Bishops to med- "dle with Matters which lye out of their Dioceses, and thereby confound "Churches, which formerly had been regulated and bounded. Accordingly "they ordain that the Bishops of *Alexandria* govern only the Churches in "*Ægypt*. The Oriental Bishops those of the East alone, reserving the Hon- "our of Primacy to the Church of *Antioch*, according to the Rules of the "*Nicene Synod*. And the Bishops of the Diocess of *Asia* they charge to con- "cern themselves only therein, as also those of *Pontus* and *Thrace* in the Dio- "ceses thereto belonging. The Third prohibits Bishops, without Invitation,

Seaven Canons now made

9. q 2. Episcopi qui extra diœcesim quem Can. Caranza mutilat.

" to move out of their Dioceſſes either for Ordination, or any other dis-
" poſition of Eccleſiaſtical buſineſs, in obſervance of the Rule concerning every
" Dioceſs before recited; for it is manifeſt that in every Province the Provin-
" cial Synod ought to order and govern all things according to what was de-
" ſigned in that of *Nice*. The Fourth Decrees that the Churches of God which
" are ſettled in Barbarous Nations be ordered and governed according to the
" Cuſtom of the Fathers. The Fifth declares the Biſhop of the City of *Con-*
" *ſtantinople* ought to have the Honour of Primacy next after the *Roman* Bi-
" ſhop, and thereof renders this reaſon, becauſe it is *New Rome*, even the
" ſame which procured to the other the Primacy of Order, *viz.* becauſe he was
" Biſhop of the Old, or *Mother Rome*. The Sixth determines concerning *Maxi-*
" *mus* the *Cynick*, and his inordinate Ordination made at *Conſtantinople*, that
" he neither be taken for a Biſhop, neither ſuch for *Clerks* as had been ordained
" by him in any degree, all things appearing null which had been done by
" him. The Seventh Canon contains a Confeſſion of Faith agreeable to
" that of the *Nicene* Council, which having not ſpoken fully concerning
" the Divinity of the Holy Ghoſt, the Fathers now add, *And in the Holy*
" *Ghoſt, the Lord and Giver of Life, proceeding from the Father, together*
" *with the Father, and the Son, to be worſhipped and glorified, who ſpake by the*
" *Prophets.*

9.q.2.c.9. Non invitati Epiſcop. ubi ex hor. videre eſt diff inter hunc can. Græcum, & Dionyſianum. Diſt.21. c.3. Conſtantinopolitanæ civitatis.

Several Hereſies condemned.

4. Not only were the Hæreſies againſt the Divinity of the Son and Holy Ghoſt condemned, but ſuch as had been the Authors of them, wherein the *Semiarians*, though they had been ſummoned by the Emperour, refuſed to joyn, who together with the Biſhops of his opinion, uſed all means poſſible to perſwade *Eleuſius* and the reſt of the *Macedonians* to reconcile themſelves to the Catholick Church. They put them in mind of the Meſſage which *Euſtathius* and others in their names carried to *Liberius* Biſhop of *Rome*, and the reſt of the Weſtern Prælates, that not long before they had communicated without exception in all Churches with ſuch as profeſſed the Faith of *One Subſtance*, and they preſſed them with what they had formerly owned and decreed, proteſting that this their averſion was neither Godly, nor Chriſtian, ſeeing they had formerly ratified the ſelf ſame opinion and Faith with them. But neither admonition nor reprehenſion would prevail, they ſaying flatly, *That rather than they would ſubſcribe to the Faith of* One Subſtance, *they would joyn with the* Arians, and having made this anſwer, they left *Conſtantinople*, and ſent Letters abroad into all Churches, that they ſhould not in any wiſe conſent to the Faith of the *Nicene* Council.

Socr.l.5.c.8.

Meletius Biſhop of *Antioch* dies.

5. Though the buſineſs of the Council was finiſhed, yet certain accidents happened, which held the Fathers ſtill together. It happened that *Meletius* the Biſhop of *Antioch* died, whom *Gregory Nyſſen* commended in a Funeral Oration. Now according to former agreement, *Paulinus* was to ſtand poſſeſſed of the See as the Survivour; but certain Factious Perſons named *Flavianus* a Prieſt of *Antioch* to ſucceed him, which was received, and inforced by the younger ſort of Biſhops, hot, and accommodating themſelves to the times, and the courſe of Preferment, who urged that it was not to be endured, that a Perſon ordained by a Weſtern Prelate (ſuch *Lucifer* was) ſhould be Biſhop of *Antioch*, and ſtrenuouſly aſſerting the worth of the Eaſtern Church before that of the Weſt, in that *Chriſt* himſelf had honoured the Eaſt with his Nativity. *Gregory Nazianzen* endeavoured to compoſe the Tumults hereupon raiſed, by propounding that *Paulinus* might be ſuffered to enjoy the Chair for that little time he was to live, and then the Orientals might maintain their right in the Election of his Succeſſor. But hereby he incenſed thoſe of the contrary Faction againſt himſelf, as favouring the Occidental Biſhops in the Cauſe of *Paulinus*. Whereupon he began to ſettle in that Reſolution he had e're this taken up, of quitting the See of *Conſtantinople*, and in much diſpleaſure departed from the Synod. He being withdrawn, they choſe *Flavianus* Succeſſor to *Meletius*, by which means the former Diſſentions and Tumults were continued, the Church of *Antioch* being again divided, though one and the ſame People was ſubject to two Biſhops, who both of them ſeemed to hold *in Solidum*.

Idem ibid.c.9. Naz. carm. de vita ſua.

A difference about his Succeſſor.

6. This

6. This displeased *Timothy* Bishop of *Alexandria* also, who, whilst those things were in hand, came to *Constantinople* with some of his Suffragans, and certain Bishops of *Macedonia*. He declaimed also against the Confirmation of *Gregory* in the See of *Constantinople*, as done by *Meletius* of *Antioch*, whereas he challenged that right, as belonging to the Chair of *Alexandria*, which had precedence next that of *Rome* before the meeting of this Council. Herewith *Gregory* was so nettled, that now he perfected his Resolution, and making several Orations to the Fathers, abdicated himself from that See, and having hereby obtained leave of *Theodosius* the Emperour, departed into his own Country with such disdain and stomach, that he took up another Resolution never to come more into such Assemblies, and though he was the year following urged with much importunity to return to *Constantinople*, where these same Bishops were again assembled, he flatly refused, as having never seen, as he said, any good to come by Synods. After the departure of him, and such as were addicted to him, at the procurement of *Diodorus* Bishop of *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*, was chosen *Nectarius* a Native of that City, a *Catechumenist* as yet, well stricken in years, a Courtier, therefore however well skilled in Secular business, yet little acquainted with the concernments of the Episcopal Function, which to teach him, he kept with him one *Cyriatus* a *Cilician* Bishop, as *Sozomen* writes, who tells us, that the Bishops having written down the names of those they thought fit for the place, he was from amongst them all chosen by the Emperour. *Socrates* saith, he was of noble Linage, whose Ancestors had been Senators, that he was a Man of unblameable Life, Pious Conversation, and though he was by Office a Prætor, yet the People made choice of him for their Bishop, and by the approbation of One hundred and fifty Prælates he was enstalled Bishop of *Constantinople*.

Gregory Bishop of *Constantinople* quits his See.

A Synod at *Constantinople*

Ep. ad Procop.

Nectarius chosen in his place.

7. The Council yet depending, *Theodosius* the Emperour on the Nineteenth day of *July* published an Edict, "whereby he forbad *Arians*, *Eunomians*, and "such like Hæreticks to build Churches, either in, or without Cities, which, "since they were outed of their Possessions unjustly got, they had attempted "to do. By another he also inveighs against *Manichees*, *Eucratites*, *Apo-* "*tactitics*, and *Hydropastes*, other Hæreticks, making them infamous, and "uncapable of making Testaments, as he did *Apostates* about the beginning "of the Synod. But that we may come to the conclusion of the Council, *Socrates* summing up what was done therein, tells us in short, that then it was decreed, that the Bishop of *Constantinople* should have præcedence next after the Bishop of *Rome*, the reason being, because that City was called *New Rome*. Again, saith he, they ratifie the Faith of the *Nicene* Council, they divide Provinces, and ordain Patriarchs, they decree that no Bishop shall leave his own Diocess, and intermeddle with Foreign Churches, for unto that time, by reason of the great storm and heat of Persecution, it was at every ones choice and liberty. *Nectarius* Bishop of *Constantinople* had that great City, together with all *Thrace*, allotted to his Jurisdiction; the Patriarchship of *Pontus* was assigned to *Helladius* Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*, after *Basil*. Unto *Gregory*, Brother of *Basil*, fell *Nyssa*, a City also of *Cappadocia*; unto *Otreius* the Bishoprick of *Meletina* in *Armenia*. *Amphilochius* Bishop of *Iconium*, and *Optimus* of *Antioch* in *Pisidia*, had the Patriarchship of *Asia*. The Province of *Ægypt* fell to *Timothy* Bishop of *Alexandria*. *Pelagius* Bishop of *Laodicea*, and *Diodorus* of *Tarsus*, are appointed over the Eastern Diocess, reserving the Prerogative of Honour to the Church of *Antioch*, the which then presently they granted unto *Meletius*. They decreed moreover, that if necessity did so require, a Provincial Synod should determine Provincial Affairs. The Emperour gave his Assent to all aforesaid, and so the Council was dissolved. Thus *Socrates*, whose words concerning the division of Diocesses, are to be understood according to those Rules we have formerly laid down.

Several Edicts of the Emperor against Hereticks.

C. Th. de hæret. l. 8.

L. 7.

C. Th. de Apostatis l. 1.

L. 5. c. 8.

8. This Council which had begun in *May*, thus concluded about the end of *July* following, on the Thirtieth day whereof *Theodosius* the Emperour published a severe Law against the *Macedonians*, as well as others, being then condemned Hæreticks. "Herein he commands that forthwith all Churches should "be

The *Macedonians* condemned Hereticks.

Cod. Theod. l. 3. de fide Cathol.

" be given to those who held *the one and equal Majesty of Father, Son, and* " *Holy Ghost, and were of the same Faith with* Nestorius, Timothy, Gregory, " *and other Bishops in that Synod*, and whosoever dissented in Faith from " them, should all be expelled as manifest Hæreticks, never to be readmitted. In which Law, seeing the *Macedonians* are called manifest Hæreticks, that is, such as are convicted and condemned by a General Council, it is not to be doubted, that at the promulgating of this Law, both the Emperour and Catholick Church hold that *Decree* of the Second Council, as a * Learned Man observes against the *Macedonians*, to be the Judgment of an *Holy, Lawful,* and *approved Oecumenical Synod*, such as was the most ample Conviction of an Hæretick, and manifestation of an Hæresie. Now this Edict was published before *Damasus* Bishop of *Rome* either approved this Council, or so much as knew what was done in it, the first news what was done herein not coming to him till after the Synod of *Aquileia*, (as both *Sigonius* and *Baronius* himself affirms) which was held on the Fifth of *September*, a Month after this at *Constantinople* was ended. Seeing then it is certain that this General Council was ended, and the Decrees thereof not only approved, but put in execution by the Church, not only before the Pope of *Rome* confirmed it, but before he knew what was done and Decreed therein, it is a Demonstration that a General Council, or a Decree thereof, may be, and *de facto* hath been judged by the Church, both of them to be of full and Synodical Authority, and approved by the Church, when the Pope had confirmed and approved neither of both.

* Dr. Crackanthorp *of the first General Council, c.* 18. §. 19.

This Council held without the approbation of the Bishop of *Rome*, yet Oecumenical.

9. Nay, neither *Damasus*, nor any of his Successors, till *Gregory*'s time, approved this Council, as this Bishop witnesseth, who writes in one of his Epistles, That *The Canons of the* Constantinopolitan *Council condemn the* Eudoxians, *but who that* Eudoxius *was, they do not declare; and the* Roman *Church hitherto neither hath, nor receiveth those Canons, or the Acts of that Synod, but herein it accepteth it, in that which was defined against the* Macedonians *by it, and it rejecteth these Heresies, which being therein mentioned, were already condemned by other Fathers.* Hence it appears that the *Romans* did not approve the condemning of the *Macedonians*, because it had been Decreed in this Council, for then they should have approved the Canon against the *Eudoxians*, and all the rest of the Canons, seeing there was the same Authority in Decreeing them all; but the reason why they approved that against the *Macedonians* was, because Pope *Damasus* had in a *Roman* Synod, wherein *Peter* Bishop of *Alexandria* was present, diverse Years before this Council of *Constantinople* condemned that Hæresie, and what Hæresies were by former Fathers condemned, those, and nothing else did the *Roman* Church approve in this Council. Untill the Age wherein *Gregory* lived they did not receive this Council, for the word *Hactenus* which he useth, must refer to that, not to the time of his Writing this Epistle, which was in the Fifteenth Indiction, for in the Ninth Indiction, or Six Years before, he himself professeth to imbrace this Second Council, as one of the Four Evangelists, which also to have been the Judgment of that Church he witnesseth in the Eleventh Indiction. And as the Council it self was rejected by them of *Rome*, so especially that Canon which gives Patriarchal Dignity to the See of *Constantinople*, and to the Bishop thereof præcedence before these Patriarchs of *Alexandria*, and *Antioch*, and Authority over the Churches in *Asia Minor*, *Thracia*, and *Pontus*.

Ep. 31. *l.* 6. *Et vide Notatam omnino ad Dist.* 22. *cap.* 3. *Constantinopolitanæ Canon his ex iis est quos Apostolica Romana sedes à principio & longo post tempore non recipit, quod ex Epistola* 51. *alias* 53. *Leonis Papæ* I *ad Anatolium Constantinopolitanum & aliis ejusdem Epistolis facile est cuivis cognoscere. itemq; ex* 2. *Epistolis Leonis* IX. *una adversus præscriptiones Michaelis & Leonis c.* 28. *altera ad eundem Michaelem, sed multo clariùs ex* 8. *Gregorii Epistola* 31. *l.* 6. *ad Eulogium Alexandrinum & Anastasium Antiochenum atque ex Epistola Nicolai* I. *ad Michaelem Imp. quæ incipit Præposueramus. Quanquam Constantinopolitani Episcopi Imp. potentia freti secundum locum Patriarchalium sedium sibi usurparunt idq; tandem pacis & tranquillitatis causa fuit ipsis concessum. Sicut in c. antiqua. de privi. Inno.* 3. *Papa declaravit.*

Hactenus nec habet nec recipit.

10. How great aversion the Church of *Rome* had to the meaning and design of this Canon, and how far it was from approving it, appears from several Epistles of Pope *Leo*, especially that to *Anatolius*, wherein he rejects it, as contrary to the *Nicene* Decrees, which he there defineth (erroniously sure) to be immutable, as if one General Council could not undo, what another had done in things circumstantial and indifferent. The Legates of this *Leo* in the

Vide Not. suprà

the Council of *Chalcedon*, according to their Instructions, protested that the Canons of this Council were not accounted for Synodal, and by command of the Apostolick See, as they said, earnestly oppugned this especially, against which also *Damasus*, as *Turrian* the Jesuite observes, had in a *Roman* Synod formerly made a Decree. And others of them say it was not allowed of till the Council of *Lateran* under *Innocent the Third*, which was six hundred years after the death of *Gregory*. Yet all this while was this Canon (which some make the Third, others the Fifth, as *Gratian* hath it), approved by the Church, and Authority ascribed to it, as of a General Council. By warrant hereof *Anatolius* in the Council of *Chalcedon* and *Eutychius* in the Fifth Synod, in the right of their See of *Constantinople*, took place of the Patriarchs of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, none in those Councils repining thereat, nay God himself, as there is said, approving that præcedence. And whereas this order had not been observed in the *Ephesine Latrocine*, *Flavianus* Bishop of *Constantinople* being placed after those of *Antioch* and *Jerusalem*, the Fathers in the Council of *Chalcedon* stormed hereat, demanding why *Flavianus* did not sit in his proper Seat? which was next to the *Roman* Bishop or his Legates.

Act. 16. p. 136 & 137.

Lib de Synodis 6, 7, 8. p 65. Notat ubi supra & Sanderus de visibili Monarchia.

A. 1215.

Vide Dr. Crackanthorp. quo supra.

The Bishop of *Constantinople* next to *Rome*.

11. By Authority of the same Canon, *Chrysostome*, when Bishop of *Constantinople*, deposed Fifteen Bishops in *Asia*, ordained others in their rooms, celebrated a Council at *Ephesus*, and to it called the *Asian* Prælates, about Twenty Years after the making of this Canon, which had they not counted authentick, they would not, by obeying him, have broken the other laudable orders of the Church. The Judgment of the whole Council of *Chalcedon*, and consequently of the whole Catholick Church of that Age was, that this Canon was to be received and approved. They both knew there was such a Canon, and that Custom and Practice did concur with it; whereupon the *glorious Judges, after full discussing of this cause* (when the truth of this Canon had been diligently examined) *testified and sentenced, that the Bishop of* Constantinople *had rightful Authority to ordain Metropolitan Bishops in the Dioceses of* Thrace, Asia, *and* Pontus, *and the whole Synod consented to them, first proclaiming, This is a just Sentence, This we all say*, and then in the very Synodical Epistle to *Leo* testifying the same, *viz. that they had confirmed that Custom to the Bishop of* Constantinople, *that he should ordain Metropolitans in* Thrace, Asia, *and* Pontus, *and thereby had confirmed the Third Canon of the Second Council.* And this they did, though the Legates following their Instructions received from *Leo*, were so averse, that they said not without some choller, *Let our contradiction cleave to these Acts. Justinian* the Emperour, One hundred and sixty Years after, confirms this Canon amongst the rest, commanding it to be written in the Disticks or Ecclesiastical Books, and publickly to be read in the Churches, in token of publick and universal approbation of the same. The Emperour doubted not of obedience to be performed, as well by those of *Rome* as others, and they were silent, none contradicting or speaking against this Canon, till after his time, being loath to exasperate him. Yet did they not approve it, as appears from what hath been said, although the General Council of *Chalcedon*, and the Catholick Church both approved, and established it. So little necessity was there for a particular Bishop to approve or confirm what had been Decreed by the Major part in a Council; although such as *consented* were said *to confirm the Decres*; as a Synod held at the *Hellespont* saith of this Synod of *Constantinople*, that *Timothy, with the other Bishops then present, confirmed it*, calling the *Consent* and *Subscription* of the Bishops present thereat, a *Confirmation of the Council.* But to return to our business.

Concil. Chalc. Act. 11. in fine, Act. 16. p. 136.

Post. act. 16. Rel. ad Leon.

Ibid. p. 137.

Novel.

A General Synod may make Canons without Confirmation of any particular Bishop, or of the Pope.

Vide p. 168. inter Epist. post Concil. Chalc.

12. This same Year, by command of *Gratian* the Emperour, and at the earnest desire of *Palladius* and *Secundianus* two *Arian* Bishops, a Council was held at *Aquileia*, whereat were present Two and thirty Bishops, and amongst the rest *Ambrose* of *Milan*, and *Philastrius* of *Brixia*, two Legates from the *African* Church, and Three from the *Gallican*. Herein the said *Palladius* and *Secundianus*, though they appealed to a General Council, and to the Sæcular Powers, were with their Hæresie condemned, and all the work finished in one Action, from One a Clock till Seven. And in this same year (if *Baronius* guess it rightly)

Gratian calls a Synod at *Aquileia*.

Tom. 1. Conc.

rightly) fruitful in Synods, was another Synod held at *Cæsar-Augusta* or *Saragossa* in *Spain*, on the Fourth of *October*, against *Priscillianus* the Arch-Hæretick and his Disciples. This Man, as *Severus* writes, being a *Spaniard* born, wealthy, and of very good parts, but given much to vain Glory, and above measure to Magical Arts, had been infected with the Heresie of the *Gnosticks*, which one *Mark* an *Ægyptian* of *Memphis* brought first into *France*, and afterward into *Spain*; being once poysoned himself, he used such Arts and Industries as Instill the Venom into the minds of many others, of all sorts of Sexes, some Bishops being also drawn in, as *Salvianus* and *Instantius*. Hereat the Churches being startled, after some private opposition made by certain Bishops, a Council was got together, wherein the Parties not daring to appear, were condemned absent, yet had they so much resolution and courage as to Ordain *Priscillianus* Bishop of *Avila* in *Spain* (the See long after of *Tostatus* that voluminous Writer) and though the Orthodox procured a Rescript fom *Gratian* the Emperour to banish them *Spain*, as condemned Persons, yet used they such Industry, that having in vain sought assistance and incouragement from the Bishops of *Rome* and *Milan*, at length, they corrupted *Macedonius* the *Magister Officiorum*, and by his means obtained the former order to be reversed, their Sees restored, and their Persecutors banished in their rooms.

An other at *Cæsar-Augustus* wherein *Priscillianus* the Arch-Heretick is condemned.

13. These *Priscillianists* held an hodge podge of all Hæresies together, raked out of the filth of the *Gnosticks*, *Manichees*, and others. They taught Lying to be no sin, and lawful to Swear and Forswear, rather than reveal any thing to their disadvantage; they hold with *Origen*, that Souls sinned before they came into Bodies. With the *Gnosticks* and *Manichees*, they made two Gods, one Good and the other Evil. They taught with *Bardesanes*, that every Man had his fatal Star, and that our Bodies are compounded according to the operation of the Twelve Signs of the *Zodiack*. They confounded the Persons of the blessed *Trinity*, with *Sabellius*; they declaimed against Wedlock, seperating married Persons, and with *Tatianus* and the *Eucratitæ* cryed out against the eating of Flesh, as an unclean thing, and made by the Evil God, or malignant Angels. It was their Doctrine and Practice to fast on the Lords day, and on *Christmas* day, because they held that *Christ* did not take true humane Flesh, against their fasting on the *Lords Day*, the Synod Decreed and Anathematized all such as fasted on that day, whether in reference to any time, misperswasion or Superstition.

The opinions of this Sect.

Jura perjura Secretum prodere noli. Aug. de hæres Hieron. in chron.

Causa temporis aut persuasionis aut superstitionis can 2. Tom. 1. canc.

14. To fast on the Lords day, it was ever accounted an abominable thing, in *Ignatius* his Epistle to the *Philippians*, he is called a killer of *Christ*, who fasts on the *Lords day*, and on the *Sabbath* or *Saturday*. *Tertullian* saith expressly, that they counted it wickedness to fast on the Lords day, nay even the *Montanists* themselves, though otherwise frequent in their Fasts, and excessive in their Scleragogy, yet excepted this day out of their Austerities. But the *Manichees* toward the end of the Third Age, out of their Singularity, changed the Custom, and fasted on this day. Of whom St. *Ambrose* saith, that they could not do it, because they justly condemned them for such a Practice; which *Augustine* also at this same time witnesseth to have been a great scandal. *Eustathius*, as *Socrates* calleth him, or *Eutactus*, as *Baronius* will have him, renewed the practice of the *Manichees*, which was presently condemned by a Provincial Synod, held at *Gangra* in *Paphlagonia*, which Decreed, that if any upon pretence of abstinence fasted on the Lords day, he should be *Anathema*. Now whereas the Synod of *Saragossa* condemns fasting on the Lords day, in reference unto times; this seems to have reference to the time of *Lent* it self, wherein it was accounted unlawful to fast on this day, as is clear from many Testimonies of Fathers and Synods. Therefore whereas from the first *Sunday* in *Lent*, unto *Easter* day, intervene just Forty two days, the Church of this Number fasteth only Thirty six, and to make it up Forty, according to the example of our Saviour; the four days between *Shrove Tuesday*, and the first *Sunday* in *Lent*, are added, as long ago* *Rupertus* (who lived at the beginning of the Twelfth Century) observed. But thus much of the Heresies of *Priscillianus* and his Followers, who the better

Fasting on the Lords dry condemned.

Die dominico jejunium nefas esse ducimus. de Corona nul. c. 3.

Idem ad usus Psychicos c. 15.

Ep. 86.

L. 2. c. 33. lat. or c. 42. gr.

Can. 1. 8. Tom. 1. conc.

Vide Ambro de jejunio. c. 10 Hier. ad Lucin. Epiphan. expo. fid. num. 22. Chrysost. hom. 11. in Gen. 2. Syn. Agath c. 12. Aurel. 4. c. 2

* *De divin. offic. l. 4. c. 9.*

better to maintain their Singular and Hæretical Tenets, besides the Scriptures received other Apocryphal Writings.

15. This same year the Emperours, taking notice how much Paganism through the encouragement of *Julian*, and connivance of *Valentinian* had increased, forbid their Sacrifices and Meetings. But this Law stood but as Probationer till the year following, being then abrogated in part by another, which gives them leave to meet, yet so as they wholly should abstain from Sacrifice. The truth is, they found their Zeal too strong for the Interest, Peace and Security of the Empire, wherein Paganism had yet such a Party, that most of the Senators were of that perswasion, and about this time the Consul and his Wife both *Ethnicks*. Another Law they made against the Clandestine Conventicles of the *Manichees*. And they published also an Edict for the restraining and punishing Lusty Sturdy Beggars, which as some have observed, had been much increased since the times of Christianity: For the ancient Christians endeavoured nothing more than the manumission of Slaves, upon which account, out of desire of Liberty, many of that condition became Proselytes. Out of the Histories of *Africk*, we are told that *Paulinus* Bishop of *Nola* sold all that he had, and at length himself to the *Vandals*, therewith to get Money to redeem Christian Captives. Hence came Manumissions to be made in Churches by the Bishops, and that on the Lords day, and after the time of *Constantine*, especially the number of poor and Indigent Persons, having nothing they could call their own but liberty, increased to such vast Multitudes, that no greater grievance lay upon Cities, than such Confluence of beggerly Persons, having no Trade nor course to live.

C.Th.l. 7. de Pagan

The *Pagans* forbidden to Sacrifice.

C.Th.l. 8. de Pagan.

Hieron. ad Marcellum Zoz.

C.Th.l 9. de Hæretic.

Vide Bodinum. de republ. l. 1. c. 5.

An Edict against Sturdy Beggars.

16. Hereupon at the earnest desire of the Bishops, Hospitals and Alms-houses for the sustenance of Strangers, Infants, Aged, Sick and Lame, unknown to former times, began to be erected by Princes or others. St. *Basil* complaining in his Sermons, that the sighs and lamentations of such as languished in the Churches, were confounded and mingled with the Prayers of Priests and People. *Julian* the Apostate, as we have already said, perceiving this was a very taking and plausible means to procure respect to Religion, resolved to Erect also such Hospitals, and to this piece of Policy excited his *Pagan* Priests. And for as much as those indigent *Liberty* or *Freemen*, did commonly expose their Children, as knowing that upon the Christian Principles and profession of kindness and mercy, they would be provided for, *Gratian* made a Law that they should remain in Servitude with those that educated them. Not long after *Valens* his Uncle permitted by an Edict, that Vagrants and Beggars should be reduced to Servitude, forbidding also upon pain of death, his Subjects to betake themselves into desert places, there to lead an idle life, which he commanded should be inflicted upon many, who contrary to the Laws, had withdrawn, and lived in those times solitarily in the Wilderness; yet had not those Laws such effect, but that Beggars still increasing, and lusty Fellows able to work, chusing rather to live in idleness and penury, the Emperours re-inforced the former Edicts, by theirs of this Year, which was that following the Synod of *Constanoinople*.

C. de Episcopis & clericis. tot. tit.

C.l. 1. & seq. de Infant. liberis.

17. But although *Damasus* Bishop of *Rome* was against the summoning of that Council, yet this year immediately succeeding, he had a desire to have a General and Oecumenical Synod held at his own City, and for that purpose sollicited the Emperours; they having consulted the Eastern Bishops, answered it was neither necessary nor convenient to have so many General Councils called in so short a time; for this would make them cheap and contemptable, as Synods had been in the *Arian* days, and by the Journeys, and long absence of Bishops, the several Flocks should be exposed both to want and danger. However *Damasus* and other Western Bishops, are said to have held a Synod at *Rome*, the acts whereof are lost, but amongst others, one Canon was made, as *Baronius* tells us, quite contrary to what had been determined in the Council of *Constantinople*, in favour of that See; giving the first place to the Patriarch of *Rome*,

A Synod held at *Rome*.

An. A. D. 382. ex collectione Cresconiana

Rome; the Second to him of *Alexandria*, his See having in the name of St. *Peter* been Consecrated by *Mark* his Disciple and Evangelist; and the Third to the Patriarch of *Antioch*, because St. *Peter* there resided before he came to *Rome*, and there the Faithful were first called Christians; a reason indeed sufficient to have given him Præcedence above the other two, had not the Polity of the Church imitated that of the Empire, and the Bishop of *Rome* obtained præcedence for the Dignity of that City, to which *Constantinople* now being *Second*, or *New Rome*, the Fathers had as much reason to alter the Case, and advance the See to the same place and Dignity.

Gratian withdrew the allowance for *Pagan* Sacrifices and Priests.

18. The Year following was very fatal to Paganism, wherein *Gratian* the Emperour withdrew the former allowance for Sacrifices and Stipends allotted unto Priests, and so by taking away all incouragement, and removing the Fuel which hitherto maintained the flame, struck at the Root of that Superstition. For this cause (and not for having rejected the Title of *Pontifex Maximus*, which neither he nor any of his Christian Prædecessors ever used) his Heathen Subjects might take part with *Maximus* the Tyrant, by whose Treason he was this year murdered at *Lyons*; his Piety and worth is very much extolled by St. *Ambrose*, and *Ausonius* his Schoolmaster, whom he dignified with the Honour and Imployment of Consul, and otherwise very gratefully rewarded, having as *Baronius* observes, so much worth in him, as to understand and consider that Masters equally with Parents, can never be sufficiently requited. This *Ausonius Gallus* was a great Rhetorician, and an excellent Poet, as appears by what he hath written, and a Christian he shows himself by his Religious Poems, however his Amorous Verses have procured him, with some Readers, the repute of a *Pagan*; his pains were so well bestowed upon *Gratian*, that *Theodosius* wanting a Tutor for his young Son *Arcadius*, whom he had named *Augustus*, and assumed as his Partner in the Empire, desired of *Gratian* that he would send to him out of the West, a fit Person for so great a Trust. *Gratian* herewith acquainting *Damasus* Bishop of *Rome*, he commended to him *Arsenius* a Deacon of that Church, a Person very remarkable for Piety and Learning, who was sent accordingly to *Constantinople*, when he undertook his charge, *Theodosius* giving the Youth into his hands, said, *Hence forth thou art more his Father than I.* Coming upon them at a time into the School, he found *Arcadius* sitting, and *Arsenius* standing by, as he was teaching him, for which he chode the Master, as not maintaining the Authority and *Decorum* of his place, to whom, when *Arsenius* answered, that it was not fitting he should sit, and teach an Emperour, *Theodosius* out of disdain, took from his Son the Badge of his Imperial Dignity, caused *Arsenius* to sit down upon the Throne, and *Arcadius* to stand bareheaded before him, saying, *Then his Son would be worthy of Empire, if with knowledge, he were also indued with Piety.*

Which caused them with *Maximus* the Tyrant to murder him.

furius.

In a Synod at *Constantinople* the Hæresie of the *Saccophori* is condemned.

19. This year was another Synod summoned by *Theodosius*, to *Constantinople*, the Decrees of which, against the Hæreticks were followed and re-inforced by his Edict, wherein amongst others, mention is made of the *Saccophori*, who were the same with *Massalians*, and so called from wearing Sackcloath, against which Hæreticks, one or two Synods were also holden about this time. But whilst *Theodosius* thus advanced the Orthodox Faith in the East, Christian Religion it self was in a little danger in the West, where at this time a great Famine raged, especially in the City of *Rome*. *Symmachus* the year following being Præfect of the City, a Man exceedingly affected to *Gentilism*, but otherwise of good repute, and exceedingly eloquent, taking the advantage afforded him by the death of *Gratian*, and Power of *Maximus*, when he thought *Valentinian* the young Emperour, would be very unwilling to disoblige his People, presented him a Petition in the Name of the Senate, for restitution of the Worship of the *Pagan* Gods, put down by the late Laws of *Gratian*. According to the old Custom of *Pagans*, who if any disaster happened to the Commonwealth, laid the blame upon Christianity, and the neglect of the Gods; he imputed the late Famine to no other cause, than the taking away the maintenance of Priests, and Vestal Virgins; but the device was quickly smelt out by *Ambrose* of *Milan*, who writing to the Emperour and re-felling all

C.Th.l. 11. & 12. *de hæret.*

Christianos ad Laeuos.

Amb. ep. 30.

all the Arguments and Objections of *Symmachus*, prevailed so far as that an absolute denyal was returned.

Damasus Bishop of *Rome* dies.

20. This Year, as *Baronius* gathereth from the Date of certain Rescripts, died *Damasus* Bishop of *Rome*, though *Marcellinus Comes* placeth his death Two years before, at the Month of *October*. *Damasus Portuensis* in his Book of Popes Lives, of Popes falsely ascribed to this Bishop, will have his Death to have happened on the Eleventh day of *December*, after he had sitten in that See Seventeen years and three Months wanting Four days. The See was vacant One and thirty days, and then succeeded him *Siricius* a *Roman* by Birth. About this time *Theodosius* taking into his consideration, that *Jews* made Slaves of *Christians*, and many of them thereby became Proselytes to their Impiety, forbids by an Edict that any Christians be in Servitude to them. And by another prescribes *Arians*, *Macedonians*, *Eunomians*, and *Apollinarians*, formerly expelled, who still had the boldness to return and boast of their Doctrine. In the West *Priscillianus* still created trouble to the Orthodox Bishops, to obviate whose Hæresies, at the importunate Suit of *Ithacius* a Bishop and great opposer of that Hæretick, a Synod was held at *Bourdeaux* in *Aquitaine*, by command of *Maximus* the Tyrant. So soon as *Maximus* had entred *Triers*, *Ithacius* puts up to him great Complaints against *Priscillian*, wherewith the Emperour (as *Severus* calls him) throughly moved, writes his Letters to the Præfect of *Gall*, and the Vicar of *Spain*, commanding that all Persons tainted with that Hæresie, should be conveyed to the Synod at *Bourdeaux*. Of these *Instantius* being brought to his defence, when he could say nothing considerable for himself, was pronounced unworthy of the Episcopal Function. *Priscillian* from the Bishops appealed to *Maximus*, and that by their permission (for which the Historian blames their Fatherhoods) and therefore to him go both the Criminals and their Accusers, of whom *Idacius* and *Ithacius* Bishops are much blamed for their too violent Prosecution, and the later as Audacious, Impudent, Talkative, Profuse, and given much to his Belly, whose custom it was to accuse them that were either Studious, or used Fasting and Scleragogy, as the Associates and Disciples of *Priscillian*, and was so bold as to object the Crime of Hæresie to *Martin* a Bishop of that time, and a Man to be compared with the Apostles themselves.

A. D. 384. *Valentin.* II. 9. *Theod.* 6.

Siricius succeeds.

*C.Th. l.*3. *tit.*1. §. 1.

*L.*13. *de hæret.*

A Synod held at *Bourdeaux*.

*Sulp. Severus Hist. l.*2. *p.*174. &c. *Edit. Gisselini.*

21. For *Martin* (Bishop of *Tours*) being now at *Triers*, continually urged *Ithacius* to desist from this Prosecution, and besought *Maximus* to abstain from the Blood of those Wretches, whom it sufficed to have Excommunicated by Sentence of the Bishops, being declared Hæreticks, alledging it was a new and unheard of Crime, for a Sæcular Judge to decide Causes of the Church. As long as *Martin* continued at *Triers*, the Tryal was deferred, and when he departed, he got from *Maximus* a Promise, that he would not take their Lives, but afterward the Tyrant was drawn to the contrary Perswasion by *Magnus* and *Rufus*, two Bishops, and committed the procedure to *Evodius* a Man bitterly severe, who after two Hearings of *Priscillian*, wherein he was Convict, and confessed he had made Uncleanness his business, kept Meetings of lewd Women by Night, and accustomed to Pray naked, he pronounced him Guilty, and committed him to custody till the pleasure of the Prince was known. *Maximus* was clearly for condemning him to death, which after *Ithacius* saw resolved, and the matter brought beyond possibility of prevention, to decline the Odium he saw would fall upon him, withdrew out of the way. But for Form sake, to conclude the Process, *Maximus* appointed another Accuser to demand Sentence, which was accordingly pronounced, and executed upon *Priscillian*, *Felicissimus*, *Armenius*, *Latronianus*, and *Euchrecia* the Wife of *Dolphidius* the Rhetorician, whose Daughter *Procula*, had been got with Child by *Priscillian*. *Instantius* the Bishop, and *Tiberianus*, were banished into the Island *Sylina* beyond *Brittaine*, and others were either put to death, or for a time confined to certain places in *Gall*.

Wherein *Priscillian* and others are condemned and executed.

22. Thus saith *Severus*, were those Men, who were indeed unworthy of Life, by the worst of Examples, either put to death or banished, this Tyrant *Maximus*, being the first that made Hæresie Capital, contrary to the judgment not only of *Martin*, but *Ambrose*, *Augustine* and other Pious Men of this Age. And, as it usually happeneth in this case, the Hæresie of *Priscillian* was not only not suppressed by his death, but more strengthened, and farther propagated. For his Followers, who formerly honoured him as a Saint, now reverenced him as a Martyr. The dead Bodies were conveyed back into *Spain*, and their Funerals celebrated with great Devotion. It became the greatest Point of Religion to swear by *Priscillian*, and amongst the Orthodox such Differences continued, and such abominable Dissentions, as could not be stilled for Fifteen years. And then, when by reason of the disagreement of Bishops especially, all things seemed to be disturbed and confounded, every thing being carried either by hatred or Favour, Fear, Inconstancy, Envy, Faction, Lust, Avarice, Arrogance, Drowziness, and Sloath; at last many contended madly, and pertinaciously against a few discreet and sober Persons. And in the mean while the People of God, and every good Man, became a by-word, and a mocking stock. With these words *Sulpicius Severus* concludes his Ecclesiastical History, concerning the Excellency whereof, *Joseph Scaliger* and *Gissalinus* especially, a Learned Physician, who published it with Annotations, are to be consulted. Though all good Men out of an aversion they have to Vice, and by reason we are only sensible of present things, are apt to esteem their own times the most vitious, yet his complaints confirm much to us the Character which *Erasmus* gives of this Age, that *It was a matter of Wit to be a Christian, that Faith was rather in their Papers, than their Souls, and there were almost as many Creeds, as Professors.*

Severus Hist. quo priùs & Dial. 3. Ambros. Ep. 27. Aug. in Cresc. l. 3. c. 50.

Which Severity encreases the Heresie.

Illis temporibus ingeniosa res fuit esse Christianum. Illa ætate in chartis erat fides potiùs quam in anima, ac penè tot erant symbola quot professores. Præf. in Tom. 2. Hieronymi.

23. *Ithacius*, who had been the great Prosecuter against *Priscillian*, continuing at *Triers*, where several Bishops, who approved what he had done, and espoused his cause as common, were assembled, *Martin* the Bishop of *Tours* was in behalf of several who had, according to their Allegiance, taken the part of *Gratian*, constrained to go to Court. *Maximus* who protected the Bishops, by their advice had resolved to send some Officers into *Spain*, furnished with sufficient Power, to make Inquisition after Hæreticks, and spoil them of their Lives and Estates, by which course there is no doubt but a very great number of Holy Men would have been destroyed, little distinction being made amongst the several sorts, judgment being given from the eye alone, and one esteemed an Hæretick rather for his pale Face or Garment, than his Faith. The Bishops knowing how little pleased *Martin* would be with these things, yet were very much concerned lest he should refuse their Communion, as foreseeing that his Example and Authority would easily procure him many Followers. Consulting therefore with *Maximus*, they think fit that certain Officers should be sent to meet him, with orders not to come to the City, except his purpose was in a peaceable manner to demean himself toward the Bishops there resident. He craftily overreacheth them, professing that he came in the Peace of Christ, and entring the City by night, went to the Church to his Devotions, and the next day to the Court, to sollicite the Tyrant in behalf of many Persons, of whom the chief were *Narses* a Count, and *Leucadius* a Præsident, who both had been of *Gratian*'s Party.

Ad comitatum ire compulsus. Severus. Dial. 3. §. 15.

24. But being as well desirous to preserve the Hæreticks, as such Orthodox Christians as would suffer with them, he made it his greatest business to prevent the dispatch of the Tribunes into *Spain* with so severe a Commission. *Maximus* held him in suspence a day or two, either for that he would put weight upon the business, or by reason of his implacable disposition, or which was then generally guessed, out of Covetousness, to which Vice, although otherwise he was indued with many good qualities, as *Severus* reports, he was much addicted, except in his excuse it be alledged, that the Treasury had been exhausted by former Princes, and the great expence he was put to by

Pia enim erat solicitando Martino ut non solum Christianos, qui sub illa erant occasione testandi, sed ipsos etiam hæreticos liberaret.

by the Civil Wars, and perpetual Marches necessitated him to such courses as were burthensome to the People. But in the mean time those Bishops, with whom *Martin* refused to communicate, being sensible of the danger to which they should be exposed, in case the earnestness of *Theognistus*, who alone had publickly condemned them, should be backed by the Authority of *Martin*, come trembling to the Emperour, complaining that Matters thus standing, they were præcondemned and lost Men, that this Man ought not to have been received within the Walls, who was become not only a Protector of Hæreticks, but their Avenger, and in truth that they had profited nothing by the death of *Priscillian*, if *Martin* might be suffered to revenge his Cause. In summ, they cast themselves at his Feet, and with many Tears, and great Lamentations, implore his Royal Authority and Power to be imployed against this one Man, who in Conjunction with *Theognistus*, as they had good cause to apprehend, might procure the overthrow of their Cause and Fortunes.

Martin Bishop of *Tours* persecuted by the Heretical Bishops.

25. Little wanted of *Martin* his being condemned to the same Lot with the Hæreticks. But though *Maximus* too much favoured these Bishops, yet he had him in so great esteem and reverence for his Piety, that he resolved to try another course, and therefore talks with him in private very lovingly, and labours to perswade him that the *Priscillianists* had been condemned, rather by publick Justice, than the Prosecution of the Clergy, and that there was no cause why he should shun the Communion of *Ithacius*, and the rest of his Party: That *Theognistus* had done it more out of Malice, than for any good reason, and was singular in this Separation; in conclusion, that *Ithacius* had been acquitted by a Synod, which had met a few days before. *Martin* being nothing moved with these fair words, *Maximus* was very angry, and starting away from him, gave orders that Executioners should be sent to dispatch those for whom he had interceded; which as soon as he understood, though in the night, he got back into the Court, and promised, that in case they might be spared, and the Journey of the Officers into *Spain* countermanded, he would communicate with *Ithacius*. All this was instantly granted by *Maximus*, and the day following *Martin*, who judged it fit for him to comply, that he might divert the Sword which hung over the Necks of those formerly condemned, communicated with these Prælates at the Consecration of *Felix* a most Holy Bishop, and one that deserved to have been ordained in better times in the opinion of *Severus*. But the Bishops having got *Martin* amongst them, with all earnestness imaginable pressed him to subscribe to what they had done, but could not wrest it from him; He departed the next day, and in his Journey as he much bewailed his communicating with those Men, though for so little a space, *Severus* tells us, that an Angel appeared to him, comforting and exciting him to re-assume his former Virtue and Constancy. From this time he never communicated with any of *Ithacius* his Faction, confessed afterwards with Tears, that by so doing, though but for a moment, yet he had lost some of his former Power over the *Evergumeni*. And although he lived Sixteen years longer, yet he never came at any Synod, but ever shunned the Meetings of Bishops. being of the same judgment herein with *Gregory Nazianzen*, and sensible of the great Corruptions of the times.

And forced to communicate with them.

Sedecim postea vixit annos, nullam Synodum adiit, ab omnibus Episcoporum conventibus se removit

26. The year following being the 385. of our Lord, the Tenth of *Valentinian* the Second, in the first Consulship of *Fl. Arcadius* the Emperour, and *Fl. Bauto*; the Year after the Birth of *Honorius*, *Timotheus* Bishop of *Alexandria* departed this Life, and was succeeded by *Theophilus*. Concerning *Timotheus* this is memorable, that he ordained *Ammon* a most Holy Monk, though to prævent being a Bishop, he had cut off one of his Ears, alledging, that the Law which was objected to the contrary, had been observed by the *Jews*, and professing that if he found a Man that had lost his Nose, but retained his Piety, he should not at all stick to ordain him Bishop. This Year *Valentinian* the Emperour published an Edict for releasing Prisoners at *Easter*, whereat *Ambrose* Bishop of *Milan* took occasion to upbraid him with Imprisoning Godly Men

Socr. l. 5. c. 12.

Timotheus Bishop of *Alexandria* dying, *Theophilus* succeeds.

Balsam.

C. Th. l. 8. de indulg. crim.

Men at the same time, wherein it was the Custom to set Malefactors at Liberty. For the Year following he set forth another Edict, whereby he granted to the *Arians* liberty to meet together, at the Instigation and Procurement of *Justina* his Mother, a Woman so addicted to that Hæresie, that she used all indeavours possible to promote it, and for that purpose indeavoured to take from the Catholicks the great Church in *Milan*, and deliver it to them, which *Ambrose* opposing, she raised a great Persecution against him. *Theodosius* in the East, bent his endeavours against *Paganism*, which still seemed to revive, and recover strength; notwithstanding all the fatal stroaks it had received. In the same Year wherein *Valentinian* published his Edict about emptying the Goals, he gave out another Rescript against Idolaters, and such as consulted the Entrails of Beasts, for the knowledge of things to come. Yet were the times still so bad, and the minds of his Subjects still so addicted to that Impiety, that the Temples, and a great part of the *Pagan* Superstition, for all these Laws, he was constrained still to permit, and the year following, he with his two Colleagues, *Valentinian* and *Arcadius*, instead of dissolving, decide a Controversie about the Administration of the Heathenish Rites, in a Constitution directed to *Florentius* the *Præfectus Augustalis* to this purpose.

Valentinian favours the *Arians* in the West.

But *Theodosius* endeavours to suppress them.

C Th. de fide Cath. l. 4.

Paul. in vita Ambr. Socr. l. 5. c. 11.

C. Th. de Pagan. l. 9.

27. *In obtaining the* Archyerosyna, *or Chief Priest-hood, let him first be considered, who has done most Service in his Country, provided he have not forsaken the Service of the Temples, by applying himself to Christian Religion. For it is unseemly, yea, to speak more truly, unlawful that Temples, and the Solemnities thereof should appertain to their care, the Consciences of whom have been wrought upon by a true Sense of Divine Religion, and whom it became, although they were not prohibited, by all means to shun such an employment. Given at* Constantinople *on the Sixteenth day of* June, Honorius *the most noble Child* (at this time about a Year and three quarters old) *and* Evodius *being Consuls*, viz. *A. D.* 386. the Eleventh of *Valentinian*, of *Theodosius* the Eighth, the Fourteenth Indiction, of *Old Rome* the 1139, of the *New* the 56.

In consequenda Archierosyna ille sic potior, qui patriæ plura præstiterit, nec tamen à Templorum cultu observatione Christianitatis abscesserit. Quippe indecorum est, imo, ut verius dicamus, illicitum, ad eorum curam Templa, & Templorum solemnia pertinere, quorum conscientiam vera ratio [vera ratio vel veneratio] divinæ Religionis imbuerit, & quos ipsos decebat tale munus, etiamsi non prohiberentur, effugere emissa 16. *Calend. Jul. Constantinop. Honorio N. O. P. & Evodio Coss.* 1. *E. A. D.* 386. *Cod. Th. de decurion. l.* 12.

28. This *Archyerosyna* or *Chief Priesthood*, was not the Præsidency in the College of Priests, as some have imagined. But those that bore this Office, as we may learn from the Epistles of *Julian* in this Age, had it incumbent upon them to *oversee and order the Temples, appoint what was convenient to each, take care of their external Ornament, and govern, and moderate the Priests therein Ministring*. Such Chief Priests, in Greek Ἀρχιερεῖς, were of old *Scopilianus* in *Asia*, whose Life is written by *Philostratus*, under *Julian* the Apostate, *Arsacius* in *Galatia*, *Theodotus* in *Asia*, (to whom he wrote two Epistles yet Extant, the 49. and 63.) and *Chrysanthius* in *Lydia*, as *Eunapius* signifieth in the Life of *Maximus*. Those Solemnities of the *Pagan* Temples (as *Tertullian* stileth them, besides others) were the Celebrations of Publick and Religious Mirth, and Vows, Festival Assemblies, Games and Solemnizations of Antient Sports; to which adhered somewhat of *Gentilism*, and Superstition belonging to the Temples. Feasts and Banquets which were especially universally and Religiously observed on *New-years-day*, as besides many more ancient, several Writers of this Age do testifie. Vows made on the Third of *January* in the Temples, with Feasts and well-wishes for the Health of the Prince. Such also were the *Saturnalia*, the *Brumæ*, or, as the Canon of the Synod in *Trullo* hath it, he *Bromalia*, celebrated in Honour of *Bacchus*, Syrnamed *Bromius*, and the Sacrifices of the *Lustra*. These, and such like, were the *Pagan* Solemnities, to the observation and care of which, the *Gentiles* endeavoured at this time to force the Christians, who also many of them of their own accord joyned in the Celebration of those Mysteries, whereof the Christian Writers of those times complain, and as *Tertullian* of old exhorted Christians to fly from such Impurities, so both Synods and Emperours by Canons and Laws endeavoured to obviate this their Scandalous and (in many respects) pernicious Practice.

Archyerosyna what.

Vide Jacob. Gothofredum ubi supra.

Aug. Serm. 6. de urbis Domini

De fidelatria. c. 17.

29. For

29. For this *Archyerosyna* or Superstitious employment being conferred on such as were Senators, and bore the greatest Offices in Cities, or had performed best service to their Prince and Country was much sought after, even by some Christians themselves, who studied more their reputation than the discharge of a good Conscience, easily being perswaded, that Prævarication and unlawful Communication in Heathenish Mysteries, would not stick to this Action, which only respected the Decency and order of Administration, and was void of Superstition in it self; however it had regard to the *Pagan* Temples, and the Solemnities thereof. Now by the Inscription or Direction of this Law, to the Præfect of *Ægypt* (who as we formerly shewed, was called *Augustalis*) this vicious Custom, as we may learn, was most prævalent in that Country, which having of old, been more than any other addicted to Idolatry, was still more tenacious of it, as appears by a Law made the præceding Year, which notwithstanding yet the year following, *viz. A. D.* 387. So little Reformation was wrought, and former Constitutions so little obeyed, that to inforce them was sent *Cynegius* the *Præfectus Prætorio* into *Ægypt*, who prohibited Sacrifices, as *Zozimus* with great grief witnesseth, as also *Idacius*. And notwithstanding all those indeavours, yet were not these Sacrifices wholly forborne, and laid aside, till the Year 391. through the indeavours of *Evagrius* the *Præfectus Augustalis*, and the Count of *Ægypt*, at the earnest importunity and procurement of *Theophilus* the Bishop of *Alexandria*, as appears from *Eurapius*, in the life *Ædesius*. *Zozimus*, our own Ecclesiastical Writers, and a Law Extant in the Code of *Theodosius*. Neither is it to be doubted, but that *Theophilus*, by whose mediation and indeavours, Sacrifices at length were prohibited and taken way, procured also that the Christians, within his Patriarchal care, should be forbidden to discharge any more this *Pagan* and scandalous Office, whereof we treat.

C. Th. de Paganis l. 9.

L. 4 p. 764.

Chron.

Pp. 73. & 77.

L. 5. p. 799

11. Cod. Th. de Paganis.

This Office of chief Priesthood forbidden to Christians.

30. For although they themselves defiled not their Persons and profession, by the Superstitious Worship used in and about the Temples, and neither those Solemnities full of gross Idolatry and *Pagan* Impieties, yet as the Law expresseth it, it was unseemly, or to speak more truly, unlawful for Christians to have charge of Temples and their Solemnities, who ought to shun such an employment, though not thereto obliged by any prohibition. This becoming in those times a case of Conscience; the practice was condemned as unlawful by *Gratian*, as *Zozimus* the Historian witnesseth, and *Tertullian* had long before so decided it, in several places of his Book concerning Idolatry, for this charge, though it could not be called Sacrificing, yet as he terms it, might justly have the name of *Adsacrificium*, which word being rightly adjudged, and restored to him by a learned Man, he might as well use as *Admilitia* is used by the Lawyer. Had these Solemnities been harmless mirths, destined only to Recreation, no such prohibition had been laid on Christians, but the very end and design of them was *superstitious* and *Pagan*. As the Celebration of Games and votive Sports were in honour of their Gods observed, in memory of their Nativities, and Dedication of their Temples, as *Lactantius* writes, who thereupon concludes, that what Christian soever was present at the *Spectacula*, or shews which were made for a Religious end, such an one departed from the worship of the true God, and betook himself to the *Pagan* Deities, whose Nativities and Festivals he so Celebrated. For the *Pagan* used to keep holy the *Eucania*, or days of the dedication of their Temples, and had their Feasts and Banquets (*Symposia*) in honour of their Gods; whence also proceeded their Confraternities.

Ad cap. 16. L. vaic. π de offic. Præf. præt. Admilitia commilitium seu Συστρατεία ut ad sacrificium.

Συνδεῖπνα.

Συμπόσια Φεστείαι.

All *Pagan* Superstition forbidden to Christians.

31. As Christians of themselves were too forward to undertake the charge of *Archyerosyna*, tempted with the reputation thereof, so at these Games and Feasts, they were still constrained by the *Pagans* to be present, in other Countries besides *Ægypt*, insomuch that the *African* Fathers a little after, about the year 399. could not but take notice of it, and ordain that *the Emperours be Petitioned, that seeing in many places, these Feasts were kept contrary to Divine Præcepts, and which taking their Original from* Pagan *Error, Christians were compelled by Ethnicks to Celebrate*, whereupon another Persecution seemed secretly to be made under Christian Emperours, they would please to forbid such Customs, and cause them

In concil. Cath. sub. Honorio. cc. 60. & 61. cod. Afr. Ἐκ τῆς ἐθνικῆς πλάνης προσπεφυχθέντα. Ἀρχαῖον ἐχθρὸν τῆς ἑλληνικῆς πλάνης

Customs of *Pagan* Original or resemblance forbidden to Christians.

them to be prohibited in Cities and Countries, under a certain Penalty, alledging, that Christians ought not to be compelled to those things which are contrary to Gods command, and in doing which they should incurr great and apparent danger of their Souls. By such like means as this, it came to pass, that whereas by permission of some Constitutions of Christian Princes, those votive Feasts and Solemnities had been observed through the parts of *Africk*, with this caution, that they should be Celebrated without any Sacrifice, or other damnable Superstition, as *Honorius* limits them (which Law is strangely retained in *Justinian*'s Code) yet Nine years after they were utterly removed, taken away, and prohibited by the same Emperour in another Constitution, together with the other Reliques of *Pagan* Superstition, who makes it utterly unlawful to hold those Feasts, or any other Solemnities; giving unto Bishops Power and Authority to prohibit them, by the same Law which *Tribonianus*, though he retained the former, yet hath omitted in *Justinian*'s Code. *Cod. th. de Paganis l. 17.* *C. th de Paganis l. 19.*

32. So jealous were the Fathers of the Church, least Christians should defile themselves with *Pagan* Impurities, and thereby give matter of scandal both to Infidels and Professors, that by their own Writings, Canons, and Imperial Constitutions by them procured, they laboured by all means to cause them to shun all appearance of evil in this respect. And for those reasons they were also sometimes so moved, as to condemn, forbid, and put down such Customs and Actions, as were taken from *Pagan* Præcedents, though well intended and directed to a good end. So *Ambrose* Bishop of *Milan* at this time, perceiving how by the heedlesness of Church Officers, many *Pagan* Customs had crept in amongst the Christian Rites, both set himself withall his might to eradicate them, and with all expedition; therefore he not only declaims earnestly against such as superstitiously observed the Calends, or first day of *January*, procured, that on that day wherein the *Pagans* Feasted, Christians should fast and afflict themselves, and caused Acclamations and Shoutings which had wont to be made at the eclipse of the *Moon*, to be wholly left off, but abolished the *Agapæ* or Christian Feasts wont to be kept in Churches, because they had some resemblance to the *Pagan Parentalia*; by whose example *Augustine*, when Bishop of *Hippo*, was so moved, that he also procured them to be put down in the Church of *Africk*. Yet notwithstanding was it impossible to shake off suddenly all that might seem to have resemblance to *Pagan*. Customs. For those habits stick close to Nature, wherewith she is first of all endowed; as an empty and hungry stomack, most imbraces and sucks such Juices as are first powred into it, and the Vessel retains that savour which being yet fresh and new, it had first imbibed with the Liquor, so doth the mind of Man most delight it self with the memory of those things, places, and times, wherewith in its Infancy it was acquainted, and however education and more ripe judgment may inform the understanding, yet the fancy is still tickled, and the affections insensibly overpowered, by such apprehensions as were most familiar and coetaneous to their simple and naked Originals. *Idem serm. 30.* *Aug. conf. 6. 2. Ep. 64. conc. Carth. 3. c. 30.*

33. Hence it came to pass, that notwithstaning all those Laws, Canons, and Præcepts, yet old Customs were still continued for a long time after, of such a Nature and Design, as could not but savour of *Pagan* Superstition, as worshipping of the *Sun*, with others which we may have occasion hereafter to mention. And the Fathers of the Church, especially the *Roman* Bishops were content to take off the Professors of Christian Religion from such practices, by not only permitting them to apply certain Customs to Christian ends and purposes, but to Institute also and Ordain several Rites and Ceremonies which had some resemblances to Ancient though Ethnick patterns, as appears abundantly from what *Polydore*, *Virgil*, and others have written of their Originals. And if in their Natures they were indifferent, if honest in their Designs, effectual in their Methods, for removal of impious Customs, if every way innocent, and in the main conducing to make impressions in the minds of Men, and introduce such Ideas as would obliterate old præjudices, and establish Pious affections, they were so many arguments of Christian Prudence, which ought to moderate

Several *Pagan* Rites and Ceremonies nevertheless used.

rate, and sway the Councils of those in Authority, according to time and place, the exigencie of affairs, and the good or ill usage of such Customs and Institutions. *Julian* made use of such Christian Rites as he saw were prudent, and conducing in their very Nature and drift to order, settlement, and exergetical impressions, and why might not Christian Governours, as well as he, assume the quality of the Serpent, which is not inconsistent with the nature of the Dove? and having to do with such Persons as had been inured to such Customs, by a change of the design, and proposal of a new end, render them not only Innocent, but significative, and edifying, all Creatures being the possession of God, and the use of them as applicable to his Glory, as to vain and impious purposes.

34. But as there are no certain and particular Rules for individual actions, these things being left to the care and charge of Governours, who are only limited by decency and order, and confined within the borders of Ædification; so accordingly were they affected, and steered the Helm as variously directed by Comportment of things, times, and Persons, in those primitive and more pure Ages of the Church; yet may we observe that the vulgar, as in all other cases, so in this, would be Master of Words, Phrases, and Terms. Therefore though *Pope Silvester*, as *Polydore Vergil* is of opinion, out of hatred both to the Names and Memory of the *Gentile* Gods, gave order that the days of the week should be called by the name of *Feriæ*, and the distinction to be made by *Prima Feria*, *Secunda Feria*, *Tertia Feria*, &c. Yet so that the *Sabbath* and the Lords-day should hold their Jewish and Christian Names, and Places, as they did before; this became no certain Rule to Christians, Writers, or others. For though that day we still call *Saturday*, had amongst them the name of *Sabbath*, which was peculiar to it, and applicable to no other day whatsoever, for many Ages; and although that day on which our Saviour arose from the Dead, be by St. *John* called by the name of the *Lords-day*, by St. *Paul* the *first day* of the Week; yet *Justin Martyr* gives it the appellation of *Sunday*, which it still reserves, as also *Tertullian* by whom it is stiled somtimes *Dies Solis*, and sometimes *Dominicus*, and in many Edicts of Christian Emperours, in the Synod held at *Dixsolusinum*, in the *lower Bavaria*, *A.D.* 772. It hath also the name of *Sunday*, not to speak of Writers, and the ordinary speech of the Vulgar, with which this same name hath prevailed in all Ages downward. In like manner the Months have retained their ancient *Pagan* names, though at first given to them, as well as to the days of the Week in memory of their Fictitious Deities, the use of which, neither as to the one, nor other sort, did the Fathers forbid and condemn, although perhaps they could better have liked others; for if we keep the name of *March*, and yet think not on *Mars*, why may we not, *saith a* Father*, preserve the name of *Saturday*, without thinking of *Saturn*. So long hath this Custom of Speech continued, that the innocency of the present design, together with the ignorance of the Vulgar, as to its ancient signification, may justly remove all suspition of the prophaneness, and consequently the unlawful use thereof. The *Holy Ghost* it self hath not disdained to apply unto sacred purposes, words of Art used by *Pagan* Writers, as *Paradisus*, *Hades*, *Apostolus* and *Clerus*.

De invent. l. 5. c. 6.

The days.

ἡ τοῦ ἡλίου ἡμέρα

And Months called as by them.

** Aug. contra. Faust. l. 19. c. 5.*

35. But to return to the series of Church matters, in this same year, which was the Eighth of *Theodosius*, dyed *Cyril* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, who had much experienced the vicissitude of humane affairs, and the condition which attends those that will live Godly in this present World, having been often driven from his See, and restored again, from the times of *Constantius*. There are extant certain Catechismes, which, as it's said, he made in his Youth, but are suspected. He was succeeded by *John*, who as *Hierome* writes, (inveighing against him, under the name of *Prætextatus*) had formerly joyned with the *Arians* and *Macedonians*, and now of late, had been drawn off to the Orthodox Party, by the hopes of a Bishoprick. This year was also the last of *Philastrius* Bishop of *Brixia*, who wrote against Hæresies a good Book, wherein yet go under that name certain Tenents which this Age will easily excuse from error. *Augustine* by this time was reclaimed from his erronious and loose course of life, having the præceding year, and the Thirty first of his Age, began at *Milan* to be touched with a sense of the Orthodox Faith, and reality of Christian Religion. For there wanting a Professor of

Cyril Bishop of *Jerusalem* dyes.

Hieron. de script. Eccl.

John succeeds him.

Idem ep. 61.

Philastrius Bishop of *Brixia* dyes.

Aug. confess. l. 8. c. 9. & 5. 13. & 6. 11.

Rhetorick in that City, and *Symmachus* Præfect of *Rome*, being desired to send a Man fit for such an imployment, by the assistance of his Friends the *Manichees*, he procured to be sent, being now Thirty years of Age, where falling into the Company and Familiarity of *Ambrose* the Bishop, by degrees he began to apprehend and dislike the errors of the *Manichees*; yet for the time, this change conduced so little to his proficiency in Christian Religion, that he did but make an alteration hereby to Antichristianism, being much inveighled by the Academick Philosophers, who at this time were in great esteem, and thereby hindred the progress of the Christian Doctrine. For they openly stuck not to affirm, that Christians had taken many Sentences out of *Plato*, and particularly St. *John the Evangelist* the Exordium of his Gospel, fora smuch as *Plato* talks much about *the word* or λόγος, but in so vast a different manner from that *word*, as it is sacred in Christianity, that such as are but meanly conversant in both, may easily discover the cheat, that it is in vain to instance in particulars; however this prejudice was in this Age whereof we write, none of the least remora's to the progress of Christianity, though some of later times have so canted in Platonick expressions, and doated upon his misapprehended Mysteries, as to conjoyn them with the *Magnalia* of our Faith; and more mischief had been the effect hereof, had not *Ambrose* obviated the design, by his Books written concerning Philosophy, against *Plato* and those his Followers, wherewith *Augustine* when older and wiser, confessed himself much edified.

Augustine reformed from his loose course of life.

Ep. 84. de doctr. Christ. 25. Retract. 2. 4

36. *Monica* his Mother, following him to *Milan*, omitted no means she thought proper for his effectual Conversion, which was better and more easily accomplished, after the return of his Concubine into *Africk*, by whom he had a Son called *Adeodatus*. At the entrance of *Banto* upon his Consulship, he made a Panygyrical Oration, before *Valentinian* the Emperour, upon occasion whereof, afterward, he bewailed the state of his Soul, at that time, which with some impetuosity was carried out in the Prosecution of Carnal and Ambitious purposes, and wholly taken up in a disquisition of *Academick* questions, and *Platonick* Speculations. But at length, by the reading of St. *Paul*, and the fruitful conversation of *Simplicianus*, a Pious and Learned Priest, it pleased God, by degrees, to instil into his heart the knowledge and love of the truth, so that being as we said converted in the Thirty first year of his Age, after he had continued a *Catechumenus* for two years or more, he was baptized, in his Thirty fourth year at *Milan*, by *Ambrose* the Bishop of that City, in the Feast of *Easter*, together with *Adeodatus* his natural Son, a Youth of about Fifteen years of age, of extraordinary parts, who dyed not long after in *Africk*, and *Alipius* of *Hippo* his dear Friend; after which they departed for *Rome*, and there, expected till the year following, a convenient time for returning into their own Countries.

Confess. passim.

Is Baptized at *Milan* by *Ambrose* the Bishop.

Vide possi. in vita Aug.

37. We have often made mention of the *Catechumeni*, concerning whom, though the Reader, by the Circumstances of the Story, may apprehend sufficient for the knowledge of their condition in reference to Christianity, yet for his clearer insight into these Ecclesiastical affairs, it seems requisite to speak somthing more, both concerning those Persons, and other sorts, and ranks of Men, as they stood in relation to the Church. For there were several ranks and degrees, through which the ancient Christians thought fit that Converts should pass, for the information of their minds, and the subjecting of their Spirits to the holy Discipline, before they would admit them to the Sacrament of Baptism, the *Eucharist*, or Holy Orders. The first rank was of those, who were to learn the first Rudiments of Christianity, who were admitted to their Schools to hear the Chatechists (such as *Origen* was in the Church of *Alexandria*, though not in Holy Orders, and but Ten years of Age) concerning whom *Eusebius* writes, that many Gentiles came to hear him Preach, and were converted, as *Plutarch* and *Heracles* his Brother, the first of whom suffered Martyrdom, and the other became afterward Bishop of *Alexandria*. Such as were bred up thus in Schools, were called *Educati*, and they and others being admitted to Homilies, Expositions, and Instructions in the Church, were called *Audientes*, this being the first step in the Christian School, and it pleased God, by his Preaching and Instruction to convince such as came rather

The several Ranks and Degrees of the primitive Converts.

As Audientes.

Euseb. l. 6. c. 2.

rather for Novelty many times, than love to the truth, or perhaps to Scoff and Deride; if they began to like of the way, and judge it worth their while to lift at (though not just take up) the Cross of Christ, they were admitted to the rank of *Catechumeni*, for a more clear and full understanding of the Mysteries of Faith, being permitted to stand in a more convenient and honourable place, than the *Audientes*, and as appertaining to the Church, though not yet fully received into her bosome, they were signed with the sign of the Cross at their Admission. These were the Christian Embrio's, who increasing in the knowledge and the Holy Discipline, received from the Church such wholsome nourishment, as thereby to grow to the perfection of Children, vivacious and ready for the birth at what time they were regenerated by Baptism.

Catechumeni.

Ambr. de iis qui init. c. 4. Aug. in lib. de symbolo ad Catechum.

38. For which, when they were thought fit, and sufficiently instructed, they gave up their names to the Bishop, and humbly desiring to be partakers of that Holy Sacrament, they had the name of *Competentes*, to whom the Ninth Canon of the Council of *Agatha* ordains, that the Creed be publickly Preached in the Church Eight days before *Easter*, or on *Palm-Sunday*, which was performed in that part called *Baptisterium*, the place where the Font stood. This Creed (which was not read at the Service to which the *Catechumeni* were admitted) they were thoroughly to learn and understand, and for those days intervening before *Easter*, to fast and abstain wholly from Corporal Pleasures, as a means for Humiliation and Præparation to so solemn an Ordinance. On *Easter* Eve in some eminent place they recited the Creed, the Articles whereof (of the Apostles Creed) were not at this time whereof we write digested into that order and method which they now retain, it being observed by Learned Men, that St. *Augustine* in his Book concerning the Creed to the *Catechumeni*, therein neither maketh mention of *the descent into Hell, neither of Life Everlasting*. The Party being brought to the Font, it was demanded of him, if he believed in God the Father, and upon answer, that he believed he was dipped once; then was he asked, whether he believed in *Jesus Christ* our Lord, and upon the reply, being dipped the second time, the last demand was, if he believed in the *Holy Ghost*, and upon the like return, the dipping was the third time repeated: This Custom of dipping thrice in the more Primitive times, was introduced in remembrance of the Resurrection of Christ on the Third day, afterwârd, to signifie the Blessed *Trinity* in opposition of the *Arian* Tenents. In process of time, when Hæreticks abused this Threefold dipping, to signifie Three Natures of the Three Persons, *Gregory the First*, being consulted by *Leander* a *Spanish* Bishop, declared, that whether the Party were dipped Thrice or but once, he received that Sacrament, the Threefold Action signifying the Three days Sepulture of Christ, and the Three Persons in the Blessed Trinity; so also one single Act denoting the Unity of Substance in the Trinity of Persons. But lest by complying with the Custom of Hæreticks who dipped Thrice, they might seem to consent to their design, he advised, that in *Spain* the Baptized Person should be but once dipped. Which Advice was afterward confirmed and inforced by the Fathers of the Fourth Council of *Toledo*.

Competentes.

Symbolum etiam placuit ab omnibus Ecclesiis una die, id est ante octo dies dominicæ Resurrectionis publice in Ecclesia competentibus prædicari

Persicus Demonstr. Problem. p. 31. Ambro. de Sacrum. l. 2. c. 7.

Tertull. adversus Prax. c. 16. Basil. de Sp. Sancto l. 2. c. 15. & 27. Concil. Tolet. 4. c. 5. De consecr. dist. 4. c. Papa est tantum. Greg. l. 1. Ep. 41.

39. The Substantial part of the Sacrament being performed by dipping (whether Once or Thrice) in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, having been enjoyned to renounce the Devil and all his Works, the Pomp and Vanity of the World, they were Signed with the Sign of the Cross, by which Solemn Ceremony, the Ancient Christians testified their Faith in the Cross, that is, the Death of Christ, being not ashamed to own him for their God and Saviour, even by such a Token as was matter of Scandal to the World, and thereby they would also excite themselves, and admonish those newly initiated, to a remembrance of their duty ingaged in this Virtual Stipulation, and to discharge their Baptismal Vow. That they might better perform this duty, they were assisted by Confirmation, wherein were used Prayer, and Imposition of Hands, which if useful then for those that were Persons of full Age, hath this advantage besides in such as are Baptized Infants, that now as it were by a repeated Act, they renew their Baptismal Vow, and take upon themselves, what others in their names had promised,

a strong inducement and tye upon them to discharge that duty which now they have owned, and to which they have publickly professed to adhere. Being thus Baptized and made Christians, they were termed, *Instructi*, *Neophyti*, and by allusion to the Sæcular Warfare, *Tirones*. To express the Effects of Baptism, they wore White Garments, till the *Octaves* of *Easter*, the Lords-day following, or *Low-Sunday*, which hereupon was called *Dominica in Albis*. Now were they reckoned amongst the *Fideles or Faithful*, being permitted to stay after the Sermons and Reading of the Scriptures, allowed to behold the Holy Mysteries of the Altar, and partake of the Lords Table, all which had been denied to them when *Catechumeni*, to whom after the said Sermons and Readings, *Missa est* was pronounced, being not permitted to view the Sacraments. Yet were not those *Novices* for all this, permitted suddenly to enter into Holy Orders, it being against express Canons, for such to be made Priests and Bishops, although in the case of St. *Ambrose* and some others, the publick utility procured a Dispensation and Exception to this General Rule.

Instructi, Neophyti. Tirones.

Fideles.

40. But (to return from this Digression) the Year following, wherein *Timasius* and *Promotus* were Consuls, the Fourteenth of *Valentinian* the Second, and the Eleventh of *Theodosius A. D.* 389. *Augustine* having wintered at *Rome*, passed down to *Ostra*, intending there to Sail over into *Africk*, but there he was kept for some time by the Sickness of his Mother *Monica*, which Pious Matron here ended her days. Having performed the last Offices of Duty to her, he sailed over with a prosperous Gale, together with *Alipius* and *Evodius* his Companions, who accompanied him into the Country, where they spent their time in discharge of all Godly Exercises, and *Augustine* wrote several Books before he entred into the Orders of Priesthood, which he mentioneth in his Retractations. This same Year also departed to a better Life, in the Sixty fifth Year of his Age, *Gregory Nazianzen* Syrnamed the Divine, his Death happening Three Years before St. *Hierome* wrote his Book concerning Ecclesiastical Writers, which the Author himself affirms to have been in the Fourteenth Year of *Theodosius*. He was of a middle Stature, a sweet and pleasant aspect, something pale, his Hair on his Head very thin, yet his Beard thick, his Nose somewhat flat, eye-brows high, his right Eye being a little contracted by a Skar. Though he seemed to be of a robust Constitution, yet was he sorely broken by continual pains of the Gout, and other Infirmities, which confining him to his Bed, he therein refreshed himself with several Elegant and Witty Poems made concerning himself upon various Occasions, of which most are yet Extant. He complains not so much of his Bodily Infirmities, as the pricks of the Flesh wherewith he was sorely afflicted, which having easily conquered in his Youth, by all the means and endeavours he could use, he could very hardly subdue in his old Age. He had made his Testament some years before, by which he gave all he had to the use of the Poor of the Church of *Nazianzen*, except certain Legacies left to his Kindred. Therein mentioning *Alypiana* by the Name of his Daughter, and *Meletius* his Son in Law; *Baronius* is careful to put us in mind, that neither was she indeed his true Daughter, nor he his Son in Law, forasmuch as he himself professeth, that he retained his Virginity inviolable. But she, together with *Eugenia* and *Nonna*, were the Daughters of *Gorgonia* his Sister, Married to *Vitalianus*, to whom she bare also Two Sons *Peter* and *Phocas*. *Alypiana* was Married to *Nicobulus* an eminent Person, and was the Mother of *Nicobulus* the Younger, of whom *Gregory* also maketh mention. But although *Nazianzen* being a Bishop, had no Children, yet his Father had, who was a Bishop too, and begot them in Wedlock after he was initiated in the Holy Orders, which we are content, seeing he himself hath no mind to it, to observe for the Cardinal. Amongst his Works which pass under the Name of *Nazianzen*, the Tragedy doth not at all savour of his Style, nor observes the strict Rule of *Iambicks*, according to his Custom, imitating rather *Euripides* as our *Fulke* hath observed.

Aug. Confess. Possid. in vita.

Lib. 1.

Gregory Nazianzen dies.

Græcus codex vatican. apud Bar. ad A. D. 389.

41. About

Several Edicts of *Theodosius.*

41. About this present time, *Theodosius* the Emperour gave out a Rescript against the *Manichees*, aswell inhabiting in the City as other places, Commanding that "Every where they should be expelled. Another Edict he published at *Rome* "against Enchanters. Another at *Milan*, Forbidding execution of Malefactours "in *Lent*, wherein absolution of Souls (as he Phraseth it) is expected: And "at the same place by another Rescript in the month of *November* he Prohi-"bits the Assemblies of all Heretical Clerks. But as the Emperour took care for the checking of those new roots of bitterness, which else would have sprouted more, and endangered the true and genuine Corn, so this year he laboured as much for the eradication of the old stock of Paganism, which notwithstanding all the Blows it had received, yet ever and anon seemed again to take fresh Root and blossome: *Symmachus* the famous Senatour and Oratour having clawed him by a Panegyrick, as he had formerly flattered the Tyrant *Maximus*, thought he had brought him by his pleasing Language into so good an humour, that he dared to request of him, that the Altar of *Victory* formerly in the Senate House might be restored. Hereat he conceived such Indignation against him, that he Banished him his Presence; and although afterward he was so far reconciled to him either through his Apology of the Mediation of a Novation Bishop (as *Socrates* would have it) as both to pass by the Offence, and the following year to honour him with the Title of Consul, yet he proceeded more vigorously against that Superstition, for which he had interceded. For it appears from *Prudentius* the Poet, that after his arrival at *Rome* he made it his chiefest care to purge that City from Paganish Superstition and Idolatry, taking order with the Citizens, that Sacrifices and Heathenish Festivities should be abolished, and the Statues of Idols be broken in pieces, except such as were most notable for the exquisiteness of the Workmanship and fame of the Artificers.

C. Th. l. 18. de hæret. l. 11. de Malef. C. Th. l. 5. de past. L. 19. de hæret.

Who endeavours to suppress Paganism.

Socr. l. 5. c. 14. Prudent. carm. adversus Symmachum.

42. Hence it came to pass, to the great grief of the Pagans, that the Capitol was deprived of its Gods, the Nests where they had harboured, being all rent, and broken. And if *Zosimus* says true, Avarice cloathed it self with the appearance of Zeal; as it ever happens in Reformations: For *Stilico*, he tells us, took away the Plates of Gold from the Door of the Capitol, and his Wife *Serena*, depriving *Rhea* the Mother of the Gods, of those Jewels which hung about her neck, apply'd them to her own private use and ornament. But had the Christian zeal of *Theodosius* stayed here, the Pagans had not sorrowed to so high a degree. Still remained the Temple of *Serapis* at *Alexandria*, one of the greatest Marks and Encouragements of their superstition yet standing, famous throughout the whole World for the statelinesse of its Structure, the Solemnity of its Worship, and the antiquity thereof; but this very Temple this same year, by command of the Emperour, was utterly destroyed. The Pagans of *Ægypt* (as we noted before) were of all others most tenacious of their Heathenish Rites, and comported themselves less than any others to the practice and course of the present times, not forbearing to testifie their dislike by extravagant practices upon occasion, as they did at this season, raising great Stirs and Tumults against the Christians their Neighbours, who had discovered and laid open the wickedness of some of their Gentile Mysteries. The destruction of the Temple had been predicted by *Bessarion* an Abbat, as also by *Antoninus* an Ethnick Philosopher or Magician, which foretelling of his did very much incourage and confirm the Pagans, and open their Mouths in pleading for their Gods, though otherwise the loss they had sustained by the destruction of their Temple, had shut them with Shame and Consternation. This gave occasion to St. *Augustine* to write a Book concerning the Divination of Spirits, as he himself testifieth at the beginning of that Work.

Demolishing the Temple of *Serapis* at *Alexandria.*

Lib. 5.

Ruffin. Marcellinus.

Eunapius in vita Ædesii.

Which very much inrages the Pagans.

43. What indignation was conceived by the Pagans, for the ruine of this famous Temple, appears from *Eunapius Sardianus* the Compiler of the Lives of Philosophers, a Man extremely addicted to Heathenish Superstitions and Magical Arts, and who lived at this time whereof we write. He rails exceedingly against *Theophilus*, whom he calls a Piacular Man, and the rest that were employed in that work deriding them for making War against the Stones, Statues, with other Materials, and twitting them for their Avarice, Sacrilege and Impiety, in spoiling the place of its rich Ornaments and Treasure. But he hath no patience when he comes to relate how into these sacred places, as he calls them, were Christian Monks introduced, men in appearance (saith he) but living as filthily as Swine. He adds, that they did publickly commit infinite and unspeak-

speakable Villanies, yet was it held a piece of Piety in them to Conculcate and defile the esteem and reverence of the Holy place; for at that time (so he goes on) every one that wore Black, and shamed not to appear publickly in bad Cloathes, obtained a certain Tyrannical kind of Authority, into such an opinion of Vertue was that sort of men advanced, of whom also is spoken in the Commentaries of Universal History. They placed Monks (so he proceeds in his Ethnick fury) at *Canobus*, that for Gods who are seen no otherwise than by the mind, they might give divine Honours to Slaves and Flagitious persons, for they shewed for Gods the seasoned and salted Heads of such, as for the multitude of Villanies, had by the Judges been put to death, to those they bowed the Knee, those they received into the number of Gods appearing all ragged and nasty at their Sepulchres: Amongst these some were Martyrs, others Deacons, and were accounted Messengers and Arbitratours of Prayers and Petitions with the Gods, whereas they were perfidious Slaves, ignominiously subjected to Stripes, and bearing Scars in their Bodies, the Marks and Tokens of their Wickedness and Villanies. Yet such Gods doth the Earth bring forth. Thus the Impious Wretch out of his blasphemous mouth belcheth Lies and Slanders against the glorious Martyrs; a very fit Authour for the Cardinal Annalist to use in behalf of his Catholick Religion and Worship of Relicks, against the Hereticks of this Age (us poor *Protestants*) if all be considered: Just such another as *Apion* or *Tacitus*, or some such lying and railing *Rabshekah*, in the Jewish Matters.

44. But *Rufinus* hath described, together with this most Magnificent Temple, these most Flagitious Mysteries wont to be celebrated with those privy Frauds therein used to deceive the People. *Socrates* writes, how *Theophilus* the Bishop of *Alexandria* being authorized by the Emperour to destroy these Cages of unclean Beasts, shewed forth to the open face of the World the vain and ridiculous Practices used both in the Temple of *Serapis* and others, causing such things among them as resembled the Yards of men to be carried through the *Forum*, to their utter Shame and Ignominy. That the Pagans inhabiting *Alexandria*, and above the rest such as professed Philosophy, seeing how things went, could no longer contain themselves, but added new and far more grievous Offences to their former Acts, both Tragical and exceeding in Cruelty. They all jointly set upon the Christians, who standing upon their defence, a great Fray ensued, wherein died a far greater number of the Faithfull, than of the Pagans, who now in their cold bloud considering what they had done, and apprehending the Emperour's sore displeasure, ran away and hid themselves in several lurking places, of which number were *Helladius* and *Ammonius*, both Grammarians, of whom *Socrates* saith, he was Scholar in his younger years.

L. 2. c. 22, &c.

L. 5. c. 16, 17.

Causing them to fall upon the Christians; of whom a great number are slain.

45. But the Fray being over, the Governour of *Alexandria* and the General of the Army came to assist *Theophilus* in the overthrow of the Temples, which now went down apace, the Idols of the Gods being turned into Kettles and other necessary Vessels, for the Emperour commanded they should be sold for the benefit of the Poor. Yet did *Theophilus* order that some one Idol should be reserved and set up in some publick place of the City, therewith to disgrace the Ethnick Religion in after-time. *Socrates* assures us, that to his knowledge *Ammonius* the Grammarian was much troubled thereat; saying, that the Pagan Religion thereby was subjected to much Infamy and Reproach. This was the greatest blow that the publick profession of Paganism had received, this place of *Alexandria* being, as it were, the Fountain of that Worship and Superstition, which being destroyed and removed out of the way, the other Houses, which were but as Chapels in comparison of this Temple, were more easily demolished. But the Gentiles acted with despair and rage, assembled all men for defence of their Gods, and killed many Christians, amongst whom was *Marcellus* Bishop of *Apamea* in *Syria*, by whose care the famed Temple of *Jupiter* in that City was demolished. *Sulpicius Severus* tells us also of several Temples razed by procurement of St. *Martin* in *Gall*, so that the Western Bishops were not behind their Brethren in contributing their utmost diligence for eradicating of this Superstition which held them yet still several years e'er it could universally be accomplished, so difficult a matter it was to enter into the strong Man's House to bind him and spoil his Goods.

Amongst whom was *Marcellus* Bishop of *Apamea* in *Syria*.

Sozom. l. 7 c. 15.

46. About

46. About this time it seemed good unto the Church, (so *Socrates* expresseth himself) to take away the Office of such Priests, as were appointed throughout every Church, to receive Penitents after Confession, unto the Company of the Faithfull; and that for this occasion. Since the time that the *Novatians* separated themselves, and refused to communicate with such as fell in the Persecution under *Decius*, the Bishops added to the Ecclesiastical Canons, that in every Church a Priest should be appointed, for the re-admission of Penitents, to the end that such as had fallen after Baptism should in his hearing confess their Sin and Infirmity; which Canon is as yet in force among other Sects, onely the true Christians imbracing the Faith of *one Substance*, together with the *Novatians* have Banished this Penitential Function. Neither did the *Novatians* at the beginning allow of this addition; but the Bishops now governing the Churches, although they retained this Custome of a long time, yet removed it out of the Church in the time of *Nectarius* Bishop of *Constantinople*, by reason of an heinous offence committed in the Church, in such sort as followeth. A certain Noblewoman came to such a Priest and confessed orderly the Sins she had committed after Baptism, at length accused her self of another Crime, declaring that a Deacon of that Church had abused her Body. For this Offence, by this means brought to light, the Deacon was Banished the Church, and the People was much moved, aswell in regard of the heinous offence committed, as that the Church was thereby much loaded with Reproach and Infamy. But the Priests being sharply rebuked, and the aforesaid Crime objected to them, *Eudæmon* Minister of that Church advised *Nectarius* the Bishop to take away the Function of the *Shriving Priest*, and grant free liberty to every one as his Conscience served him, to partake of the Holy Mysteries, to prevent the like Scandal for the time to come. So much did *Socrates* hear of this matter from *Eudæmon's* own Mouth.

L. 5. c. 19.

The Function of the Shriving Priest laid down upon what account.

47. About the same time *Theodosius* the Emperour committed such a piece of Severity as gave occasion to such an act of Church Discipline, which as for the Dignity of the Subject hath been remarkable to all Posterity. The thing was this. The Inhabitants of *Thessalonica* quarrelling with *Botherictus*, the *Præfectus Militum* in *Illyricum*, about their Waggon-driver, whom being imprisoned, he refused to release at their desire for the running of a Solemn Race, rose against him and slew him, which thing brought to the Ears of the Emperour did much incense him, yet at the intercession of *Ambrose* and other Bishops attending him at *Milan*, his Choler seemed to be allayed, and he promised to pass by and forgive the Fact. But the Courtiers coming to talk with him perswaded him not to let goe unpunished a Matter of so bad Example, and thereupon the People being invited to the Circensian Games, were compassed about with Souldiers, who without any difference of Age or Sex, Guilty or Innocent, fell upon them, and running through the Streets killed all, aswell Strangers as Citizens, whom they met; so that about 7000 Persons were thus slaughtered in a matter of three Hours space. The News coming to *Milan*, where the Bishops were assembled in a Synod, *Ambrose* in the Name of all, first by Letters signified to the Emperour, how horrid a Fact he had committed, and that thereby he had rendered himself unworthy of Christian Communion, and when *Theodosius* came to give satisfaction, and remove the Scandal, he publickly and stoutly refused him entrance into the Church for eight Months, till his Penitence might fully appear, enjoyning him withall to make an Edict, whereby Sentence of Death and Confiscation of Goods should be stopped from Execution for thirty days, that the Merit of the Cause might in such a space of time be throughly weighed and examined.

Theodor. l. 5. c. 17. Soxim. l. 7. c. 24 Niceph. l. 12. c. 40, &c. Ambr. Ep. 28. & in fun. Theod. Aug. de Civit. Dei l. 5. c. 26. alii.

Theodosius commits an act of Cruelty for which he undergoes Ecclesiastical censure.

48. The Emperour received this Chastisement with wonderfull Humility, Patience and Moderation, setting thereby such a Copy and Pattern of submission to Ecclesiastical Censures, as St. *Ambrose*, St. *Augustine*, with the rest of the Churchmen and Writers of that Age, and all ever since have both applauded and admired. But *Erastus* an eminent *German* Physician, so learned in his Art that *Riolan* esteems him the greatest man that hath lived since *Fernelius*, whatever his success was in Theology, wherein he travelled much also, hath passed a sharp Censure upon this Discipline so severely pressed upon the Imperial Majesty of *Theodosius*, terming it an unjust Act, and affirming, that it can never be maintained by any true and solid Reasons. However the Humility of *Theodosius* aswell herein was eminent as in another point, wherein St. *Ambrose* also largely shewed his Ecclesiastical Authority. It was the Custome at *Constantinople* for the Em-

In Anthropog.

Vide Hospinianum de origine, &c. templorum. l. 2. c. 1.

And is removed from sitting in the Chancel by St. *Ambrose* of *Milan.*

perours to sit within the Chancel amongst the Clergy, at celebration of Divine Service, which *Theodosius* thinking with as little difficulty to doe at *Milan*, the Bishop would not suffer him to enjoy that privilege and convenience in his Church, but bade him go out and sit with the rest of the Laicks in the body of the Church, to which order he not onely submitted whilst he there resided, but at his return to *Constantinople* is said there also to have observed it, though invited by the Bishops to reassume his former Seat: and *Sozomen* tells us, that his Successours herein followed his example, of which this Historian himself was an Eye-witness. But here for the understanding this and other passages more fully, we shall speak something concerning the form and fashion of their Churches in those Primitive times, with the order of their sitting, and how each Person was placed according to his calling and function, being much assisted in the disquisition of this matter from what our most Learned *Mountague* hath written of this Subject.

The first places dedicated to Divine Service.

49. The first place we meet with wherein Christians made their Assemblies was that Ὑπερῷον, or upper Room, mentioned in Scripture, where the Disciples assembled presently after our Lord's Passion. Yet according to convenience, and as they might doe it with safety they met sometimes in one place, and sometimes in another. In process of time, divers devout Christians gave their own Mansion Houses to be Meeting places for their *Synaxes* or Holy Assemblies, which *Theophilus* (he to whom St. *Luke* Dedicateth his Book) is said to have done at *Antioch*, being if not the very first, yet one of the first of those Benefactours, which example was followed by *Claudius Pudens* a Senatour at *Rome*, who consecrated his House to Divine Service, with the Title (as they called it) of *Ecclesia Pastoris*, or the *Shepherd's Church.* By little and little in succeeding Ages Houses were built for this very purpose, especially in peaceable times, as under *Titus*, *Adrian*, *Antoninus Pius*, *Commodus* and others. These they called *Ædes Sacræ*, *Oratoria*, Εὐκτήρια, *Martyria*, Κοιμητήρια, *Domus Orationis*, *Ecclesiæ* and by some other Names, never in those ancient times *Templa* or Ναοὶ, *Templum* and *Ecclesiæ* standing ἐκ διαμέτρου, in opposition, before the time of *Constantine*: yet even in these times were some called Κυριακαὶ, built and adorned more than ordinary, all which were demolished by Edicts of *Diocleſian* and *Maximinus.* After the conversion of *Constantine* they began to be built sumptuously, and to be called *Templa*, but not *Monasteria*, *Semnæa*, *Synagogæ*, or the like. Yet in *Ignatius* his Epistle to the *Trallians*, the Christian Assembly is termed *Synagoga*, contrary to what is affirmed by *Gregory Martin* a certain Literator, who brauls against us for sometime using the word Congregation for the Church (which we did in that notable Collect before the late Revising of the Liturgy) as if they two were incompossible.

Their appellations.

The order and method of seating the Congregation.

50. The most ancient Christian Churches were of an Oval Figure, or Ἐπιμήκεις, like some sort of Ships (upon which account the Body of the Church by Canonists is still called *Navis*) long, narrow before and behind, bulked out on both sides in the middle. In the midst was the Bishop's Seat, styled Βῆμα for the Ascent to it, and Θρόνος for its eminency. At the East was placed the Altar, though at *Antioch* sometime in the West. In the middle was also the *Ambo* or Desk where the Old and New Testament was Read to the People by the *Anagnostes* or Reader. Round about the Bishop's Seat sate the Presbyters, and behind them stood the Deacons, except the *Primicerius Diaconorum*, or the Archdeacon, who constantly attending the Bishop stood close by him, being ever the Eldest in time, and not preferred out of affection; excepting also those Deacons who by course attended at the Women's Seats to see all things decent and in good order. On one side sate the Lay-men, and on the other the Women, separated from the Seats of the Bishops and Priests by *Cancelli* or Rails, as also from each other. At the Mens Seats attended the *Ostiarii*, as the Deacons at those of the Women. Young Men, if there was room sate, if not, stood; Boys were with their Fathers, Girls with their Mothers. Widows and Elder Women sate foremost, Married Wives and Mothers by themselves. The Younger sort of Women, if there was room, stood among the Grave Matrons; if not, behind them. The Deacons took care that none talked, whispered, laughed, coughed or sneezed aloud, slept or otherwise misdemeaned themselves in the time of Divine Service, every one being to demean himself with discretion, as understanding the business in Hand, with sobriety, watchfulness and attention to what was done or said. As for private Oratories or Chapels they had none, for private Houses or several Families, which use when afterward it crept into the Church, be ing-

Ἐπισημείως, νηφαλέως, ἐγρηγορότως, συντεταμένας τὰς ἀκοάς.

Private Chapels forbidden.

ing forbidden, and the User censured by a Council in the *Greek* Church, we find prohibited also in *Gratian*'s Decree, by the thirty first Canon of the same Council in *Trullo*. Such Clergymen were declared Excommunicate, that administred Baptism, or used Prayers in Oratories or private Houses, which in opinion of the *Greek* Canonists is forbidden in the fifth Canon of the Council of *Antioch*, and the Thirty first Canon Apostolical (as they are called) and held no better than a Schismatical Conventicle, erecting Altar against Altar. However we see both by the *Roman* Canon Law, and our own Provincial Constitutions and Customs, that Liberty was afterward indulged of having private Oratories or Chapels to Noble Men and others, a thing perhaps of lesser inconvenience than another practice crept very lately into our Churches, both contrary to Primitive Patterns and the practice of all Churches, aswell Reformed as others. Every Man must now (as if like Horses, each Christian would kick another) have his own Stall so elevated, that he can scarcely look over it, as fit onely for lolling and sleeping, so that if all kneeled when they Pray to their Maker (which certainly is the humblest posture) a Stranger coming in should not see one Man in the Church besides the Minister. A Custome which is both the effect and the cause of pride, sloth, irreverence and contempt of all good order. But enough to our purpose.

De Consec. d. 1. c. clericos qui ministrant vel baptizant in Oratoriis quæ intra domos sunt, cum consensu Episcopi loci hoc facere præcipimus. Si quis vero hoc non observaverit deponatur.

51. The Law made by *Theodosius* for deferring execution Thirty Days, is yet extant both in the Code of *Theodosius* and *Justinian*, directed to *Flavianus* the *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Illyricum* and *Italy*, in the Name of *Gratian*, *Valentinian* and *Theodosius* from *Verona*, in the Consulship of *Antonius* and *Syagrius*, which is eight years before the true date thereof, for else *Theodosius* must have come into *Italy* before the Expedition of *Maximus*, which is against the testimony of all Antiquity, or the Law must have been made by some other than him, which at length was abrogated by *Nicephorus Botoniates*. But to pass to other matters.

C. Just. lib. 9. Tit. 47. c. 20.

Stirs about *Jovinian*.

At this time great stir was made by *Jovinian* a Monk of *Milan*, who holding Wedlock equal in Honour with Virginity, was opposed and condemned as a great Heretick by *Siricius* Bishop of *Rome*, *Ambrose* of *Milan*, and *Hierome*, the later of whom in writing against him seemed so to extoll Virginity, as with the *Manichees* to despise and cast dust upon Marriage, which being very ill resented by many good Men, he was forced to write an Apology and explain himself. These stirs were followed or accompanied by others about the writings of *Origen*, of which *John* Bishop of *Jerusalem* was the great Defender. To him first wrote *Epiphanius* Bishop of *Salamina* the chief City of *Cyprus*, against whom he had conceived great Indignation, both for ordaining *Paulinianus* the Brother of *Hierome* in *Palestine* out of his own Diocese, and especially when he prayed for using this expression, *Lord grant to* John *that he may Believe aright*. *Epiphanius* in his Letter so excuseth himself, that he also reckons up many errours of *Origen* maintained by him; and signifieth, that the true offence he had given him was, his reprehending him for so doing.

Siric. Ep. 1. Am. Ep. 80, &c. Hier. adversus Jovin. & Ep. 51, 52.

And *Origen*.

Op. Hieron. tom. 3. Ep. 16. & 64.

52. This Letter passing from one to another, *Eusebius* of *Cremona* desired *Hierome* to Translate it into *Latin*, and keep it private, which he did about eighteen months. But then *John* made means to get it into his Hands, and accused *Hierome* both as an unfaithfull Translatour, and a turbulent Person, who sought to encrease differences in the Church, by adding Oil to the Flame of that Controversie, which might else have been extinguished. *Hierome* herewith netled, writes against him two Letters to *Pammachius* his great Friend, a Man of Noble extract, as descended from the ancient Family of the *Camilli*, wherein he vindicates himself as to the Translation, having used no greater liberty than a faithfull and Learned Man justly might. And then he accuseth *John* as addicted to the Errours of *Origen*, which he sheweth to have been many, and more bitterly inveigheth against them than *Epiphanius* had done two years before, though he himself had translated many of *Origen*'s Books, on which he had not been wanting to bestow very large Encomiums. But upon this account he also began to speak and write very ill of *Rasinus* and others whom formerly he had extolled to the Skies. Toward the latter end of one of his Epistles he makes mention of a Solar Eclipse, which had happened a few months before, to the great consternation of thousands of people, about *Whitsontide*. This fell out on the sixth of *June* one and twenty days after *Whitsontide*. And in the same year the Sun was again obscured on the second of *December*, which *Cabricius* erroneously, if *Capellus* be Judge, casteth back to the twentieth of *November*; and because this Eclipse preceded the Coronation of *Honorius* forty days, *Prosper* and *Marcellinus* write as if it had fain out the very day of that Solemnity.

Eod. tom. Ep. 17. & 64. & Tom. 1. Ep. 5. & 25.

Ep. 17.

53. A-

Valentinian the second murthered by *Arbogastes* a *Frank.*

53. About this time in the seventeenth year of his Reign was *Valentinian* the second murthered by procurement of *Arbogastes*, the *Frank*. *Ambrose* Bishop of *Milan* made his Funeral Oration, wherein he hath this expression, *He died without Baptism, and yet enjoyeth Eternal Life*, for he was but a *Catechumenus* though so long a Christian, and born of Christian Parents, so prevalent was as yet that bad custome of deferring Baptism. *Theodosius* was now got back to *Constantinople*, where having Built a Church in Honour of St. *John Baptist*, *Baronius* tells us, that the year preceding the Birth of *Valentinian*, he caused the Head of that Saint which had been found in the time of *Valens* to be therein deposited. Concerning this Ceremony, such Writers as mention it agree not amongst themselves neither as to the time nor manner. Other Translations also of this Head are said to have been made into *Alexandria* and *Gall* by other Persons. The *Rhemists* tell us in their Testament, that St. *John Baptist*'s Head is at *Amiens* in *France*: others say his Head is in St. *Silvester*'s Abbey in *Rome*, besides the scattered pieces of it in other places. There were also kept two Anniversaries for two several Findings of his Head, whereof one was in the Ruines, you must know, of *Herod*'s old Palace, and another in the Field of *Emesa*. It's more worth the while to take notice that this year *Augustine* was ordained Priest by *Valerius* Bishop of *Hippo*, to the great content and satisfaction of the People, though to his own regret and trouble. Being now Priest, the Bishop caused him to Preach in his presence quite contrary to the Custome of *Africk*, which permitted not Presbyters to Speak in the Church when the Bishops were there; but after this example given, it began to be broken and antiquated in other places.

Obiit sine baptismo & tamen vita fruitur æterna.

Augustine ordained Priest.

Possid. in vita c. 5.

54. *Eugenius* whom the Murtherers of *Valentinian* had put in his Place, being cheated by the Promises of the Pagan Prophets, who made him confident of his success, gave them some liberty and encouragement in their Superstition, which caused *Ambrose* to write to him, and blame him for so doing; as also *Theodosius* to make a new Edict for obviating the progress of their Religion, forbidding them absolutely in any place to Sacrifice. He made also several Laws against Hereticks, and ordained that such Debtours as fled to Churches should either presently be taken thence, or that such Bishops as protected them should pay their Money, which once fell to the share of St. *Augustine* when Bishop. He being but Priest as yet, had a great and publick Dispute at *Hippo* with *Fortunatus* a *Manichee*, concerning the Original of Evil, wherein he gave him so eminent a foil, that he durst not any more appear in that City. At this time *Parmenianus* the Bishop of the *Donatists* dying at *Carthage*, *Primianus* was first chosen in his room, and then afterward *Maximianus* by others, whereupon arose a great Schism amongst the *Donatists* themselves, of which *Augustine* often taketh notice. The matter being brought before three Councils, *Maximianus* in them all had the better of his Adversary, but in a Fourth consisting of three hundred and ten Bishops, held on the Eighth before the Calends of *May*, two years after the beginning of the Dispute, *Primianus* had the upper Hand, which great variety of passions and inclinations very much confounded the *Donatists*. The year after these things happened the Death of *Theodosius*, to the great detriment of Christian Religion, had not his Sons *Arcadius* and *Honorius* at their first entry by several new Edicts established and secured the Profession thereof, receiving as a reward of their Zeal protection from the treacherous attempts of *Ruffinus* and his Companions.

A new Edict against the *Pagans.*

C. Th. de Pag. l. 12.

C. Th. de his qui confug. ad Eccles. l. 1.

Theodosius the Emperour dies.

C. Th. passim.

55. The same year that *Theodosius* died, was *Augustine* in the forty first year of his age made Bishop of *Hippo*, though *Valerius* the Incumbent was yet living. He was for his Piety and Abilities grown by this time into so great esteem, and so much taken notice of in all Countries, that *Valerius* fearing he might be called to some other place, and the Chruch deprived of so good a Pastour, dealt with the Primate of *Africk* that he might be Consecrated in his life-time, it being a thing highly convenient, and not altogether without precedent. When he had prepared the matter thus, and made the design known to the People, they received it with great applause, and in a manner constrained *Augustine* to accept thereof, though it was flatly against the Canons of the *Nicene* Council for a second Bishop to be ordained to a Church of which he confesseth that both he himself and *Valerius* was at that time ignorant. About this time *Fritigildis* a Queen of the *Maxomanns* hearing of the fame of *Ambrose*, imbraced (as *Paulinus* writes in his Life) the Christian Faith, and procured from him a certain Catechetical Treatise for her fuller information therein. At the request of the Bishop, she perswaded her Husband to submit to the *Romans*, and came to

Augustine made Bishop of *Hippo.*

Possid. in vita. Prosper. in Chron. Aug. Ep. 33. 110.

Milan

Milan to see that good Prelate, but he had left this life e'er her arrival there, dying not full three years after the departure of *Theodosius*, the day preceding the Nones of *April* and *Easter*-day, after he had sitten in the See of *Milan* 23 years and about 4 months, and scarcely completed his grand Climacterical. As St. *Ambrose* wrote some Books which are not extant, so many now extant under his name he never wrote as is confessed on all sides. Amongst the spurious things ascribed to him it's observable that the *Missale* going under his name makes mention of the Feast of the Assumption which was not received till After-ages. Nevertheless his service Book or *Officium Ambrosianum* supposed made by him was long in respect and use, till *Pope Hadrian* calling a Council with Assistence of *Charles* the Emperour abolished and burnt it commanding that of *Gregory* universally to be used. But not long continued this in such esteem but that the *Roman* Service came to be of two fashions, the new and old, as may be seen in *Pamelius* his Preface before *Micrologus*, who reporteth also out of *Radulphus de Rivo* that about the year 1277 Pope *Nicholas the third* removed out of the Churches of *Rome* the more Ancient Service Books and brought into use the *Missals* of the Friars *Minorites*, insomuch that about 100 years after the said *Radulphus* happening to be at *Rome* found all the Books to be of the new stamp. But of later chopping and changing hereafter.

Durand. l. 5. c. 2.

Nectarius of *Constantinople* dies. *Martin* of *Tours* departed this Life. To *Ambrose* succeeded *Simplicianus*. To *Nectarius John*. To *Martin Briccius*.

56. St. *Ambrose* was followed into a better World by *Nectarius* Bishop of *Constantinople*, who died on the 27 of *September* of the same year, and *Martin* of *Tours* who departed this Life the night intervening betwixt th 10*th*. and the 11*th*. of *November*. To St. *Ambrose* succeeded *Simplicianus* and in the Room of *Nectarius* was consecrated, *Feb.* 26. *John* a Priest of *Antioch*, for his Eloquence sirnamed *Chrysostome* notwithstanding the opposition of *Theophilus* of *Alexandria* who pretending a right in the Election of Bishops to that See endeavoured to bring in *Isidore* a Presbyter of his own Church. To St. *Martin* that wonderfull Bishop of *Tours* (whose miraculous Life is Written by *Sulpicius Severus* a *Roman* Citizen, a Man Noble, as *Gennadius* calls him, both in Birth and Learning) succeeded *Briccius* on the 29*th*. of *November*, though *Baronius* contendeth that this happened not till the fifth year after, rejecting the Testimony of *Gregory* one of *Martin*'s Successours and alledging that of *Severus*. And all these were followed to another Life by *Siricius* the *Roman* Bishop who died *February* 21. of the following year having sate in that See 13 years and about two months. He first received Monks into the Clergy whereas formerly they were reckoned but amongst the Laicks. In the West also as some observe he disallowed the Marriage of Priests, admitting such to Orders as were Married, but forbidding after Orders received the use of Wedlock. The See was void 20 days and then was Elected *Anastasius* and consecrated on the 14 of *March* the first *Feria*, being by Birth a *Roman* and however his Predecessour had inveighed against Marriage of Ecclesiasticks, a Priest's Son, as *Baronius* himself gathereth from his Epitaph.

Sozom. l. 8. c. 2.

Siricius Bishop of *Rome* dies.

Anastasius succeeds.

Hospinian. lib. 3. de orig. Monach. c. 12.

A Synod held at *Carthage*.

57. The year wherein St. *Ambrose* died was the third Synod of *Carthage* held counting from the time of *Constantine* as the Compiler did who yet ought rather to have called this the second, and that which he calls the second he ought to have reckoned for the sixth, as *Baronius* gathereth from certain circumstances. In this Synod are said to have been enacted 50 Canons, amongst which none is more remarkable than the 26 which ordains that the Bishop of the first See be not called *Princeps Sacerdotum* Prince of Priests, or *Summus Sacerdos* the Chief Priest, or any such thing, but onely *Bishop of the first See*. This Canon *Gratian* hath put into his Decree *a* to which is added *b* neither may the *Roman* Bishop be called *Universal*, for Confirmation of which he brings in first *c Pelagius the second* prohibiting any Patriarch to be called Universal, and then part of an *d* Epistle of *Gregory* to *Eulogius* Patriarch of *Alexandria*, wherein he expostulates with him for giving him the Title of *Universal*, desiring him that he would doe so no more for this reason, *Quia vobis subtrahitur, quod alteri plus quam ratio exigit præbetur, Because so much was taken from him as without cause was given to another*; and then having told him that he desired rather to be eminent in goodness than glorious Titles, he backs or rather illustrates his former reason by a second, adding, *Si enim universalem me papam vestra sanctitas dicit, negat se hoc esse, quod me fatetur universum; sed absit hoc, recedant verba quæ vanitatem inflant & charitatem vulnerant. For if your holiness call me Universal Pope, you deny your self to be that which you confess me to be, Universal, which God forbid. Forbear those speeches which puff up vanity and Wound Charity.* No more of the Epistle hath *Gratian* transcribed, this making sufficiently for his purpose, but the Glossars think themselves concerned to tell you

One of whose Canons prohibits any Bishop of the first See to receive the Title of Universal.

a Dist. 99. c. 3.
b Universalis autem nec etiam Romanus Pontifex appelletur.
c Can. 4. Nullus Patriarch.
d Can. 5. Ecce in præfatione. lib. 7. Ep. 30 Indict. 1. 5.

you farther that *Gregory* in that part which follows lets him know that this Title had been offered to his Predecessours in the Council of *Chalcedon* and from other Fathers, but they refused it; and they instance in several Popes, who have had glorious Titles given them by other Bishops. *Baronius* is fearfull you should think those words *Neither may the* Roman *Bishop be called Universal* should be part of the Canon, assuring you they are *Gratian*'s own, neither apposite for explication of this Canon but onely as a hint or contents of what follows. He disclaims any right the *African* Church had to give Laws to that of *Rome* Superiour to it; tells you the Bishops of *Rome* might have some reason to refuse the Title of *Universal*, which yet was their due, and concludes it was out of modesty that even the *African* Fathers refused those Titles which both as *Metropolitans* and Bishops belonged to them.

58. But, what if this Title had been given to several of *Gregory* his Predecessours, so was it to others also as we have * formerly shewed especially to the Patriarchs of *Constantinople*. Neither is it material whether the words formerly mentioned were part of the Canon or *Gratian*'s own words, for if they were his, and contents of what follows, yet being true contents and being sufficiently made out by what *Pelagius* and *Gregory* say in the following Canons, we hope the Cardinal will allow the effect and purport of them to be Authentical, though these words be not, the Authour of which they will commend and dispraise, allow and reject at their pleasure, as he speaks for or against them. To let pass what the Cardinal takes for granted, and which we shall never yield, that the *African* Church was subject to the *Roman*; though the *African* Fathers had nothing to doe to give Laws to that of *Rome*, yet they might doe it (perhaps) to their own People, for the Canon is not against such as should take, but rather those that should give this Title which those of *Africk* might doe to him as well as others. Whatever reasons *Baronius* alledgeth for the *Roman* Bishops their refusal of this Title is not very material, seeing both *Pelagius* and *Gregory* assign a true and urgent cause, *viz.* the wrong and prejudice that should thereby be done to other Bishops, which, however out of complement and assentation such Titles may have been given both to him of *Rome* and others, yet is a sufficient Bar to all such real and serious pretensions. And if the design of the Canon was to remove or to prevent arrogance in Bishops, it cannot well be imagined against whom this Engine should be levelled, whose Pride it should be designed to batter sooner than that of *Rome*, the eminency of which City together with other considerable accidents Elevated the Bishop's Reputation, and drawing the Eyes as well of the *Africans* as others upon him, drew out also expressions which *puffed up vanity* and *wounded charity* as *Gregory* expresseth it.

* *Suprà*, c. 8. *Paragr.* 24.

Another ordains that decrees of Councils be read at Consecration of Clerks and Bishops.

Feasting in Churches forbidden by another.

Another pretended one counting those Books of Scripture Canonical which really are Apocryphal.

59. To speak of one or two more of those Canons which are most worthy of consideration, the third ordains that Decrees of Councils be read to such Bishops and Clerks as are to be consecrated for their better information how to demean themselves, which as *Possidius* tells us in his Life St. *Augustine* procured out of a sense that he himself and ignorantly at his consecration offended against the *Nicene Council*. The 30 Canon which forbids feasting in Churches seemeth also to have been made through his mediation, for being very sensible of the disorders which were committed by occasion of this junketing in memory of Martyrs, and at the Graves of deceased Persons, he had formerly written to *Aurelius* Bishop of *Carthage* to put them down. But there's another Canon we must not pass over with silence because they of *Rome* make noise enough about it, and that is the 47 which reckoning up the Canonical Books of Scripture amongst them count those which we call Apocryphal. But that this Canon is supposititious, at least Dubious, our Divines contend for these reasons. First because it is commonly called the 47 of this third Council of *Carthage*, yet in some Books reckoned the 24*th*. of another Synod held under *Boniface*, as *Surius* Witnesseth. Then in this Catalogue are received five Books of *Solomon*, which number doubtless is faulty. Again the Synod in *Trullo* approves both this Synod of *Carthage* and that of *Laodicea*, which it could not doe if this Council held for Canonical what the other judgeth no better than Apocryphal. And lastly, this Synod could not justly receive any Books, as Canonical but as the Fathers had received before it, who rejected those Books as it were easie to shew, particularly from * *Athanasius*, † *Cyril*, ‖ *Cyprian*, *Epiphanius*, * † *Gregory* ‖ *Nazianzen*, *Hierome* and others. Farther we ought to take notice that Canonical amongst the Fathers is sometimes taken absolutely and simply sometimes more largely and generally, as it is opposed to profane and secular writings. In the first sense the Holy Scriptures, as we count them, are Canonical onely,

Cap. 8.

Eph. 46.

* *In Synops.*
† *Cateches.* 4.
‖ *In expositione.*
* *Symbol. de mensur. & ponderibus*
† *In carm. de genuinis s. Scripturæ locis.*
‖ *Præf in. Esdram & Nehe. Quæ non habentur apud Hebræos nec de 24 senibus sunt procul abjicienda.*

onely, in the second not onely they but such Books as were composed out of them, and contained Histories relating to this Church and in this sense the Canon might say we take all those for Canonical which we have received from the Fathers to be read in the Church.

Two other Synods held at *Carthage.*

60. The year following on the twenty seventh of *May*, was another Synod of 73. Bishops held at *Carthage*, in Books called the *Fifth*, but which ought rather to be counted the *Third*, wherein a Canon was enacted concerning baptizing of Infants, and a Petition ordered to be put up to the Emperours, for the rooting out of Idolatry. And this same year in the 8*th.* of *November*, was the Fourth *Carthaginian* Synod celebrated by 214 Bishops, who enacted 104 Canons, amongst which the 64 ordains, that he should not be accounted a Catholick, that designedly fasteth on the Lord's Day, the 100 forbids Women to baptize, the 44 commands that Clerks neither wear long Hair, nor long Beards, and the 84 Orders the Bishop do forbid none to come into the Church, and hear God's word, whether *Gentile*, *Heretick* or *Jew*, till the *Missa* of the *Catechumeni*, or that Service was finished, whereat such were suffered to be present. Thus did Christian Religion not onely subsist, but thrive, and get ground, notwithstanding all the Arts and Devices which *Pagans* could use. For this you must know, was the terrible year wherein the Ethnicks had foretold the Worship of *Christ*, should receive its Period. Perceiving as St. *Augustine* tells us, that it was so far from being rooted out by persecutions, that on the contrary it wonderfully increased, they devised certain *Greek* Verses, as given in answer to some *Pagan*, who consulted an Oracle. These acquitted *Christ* of this Sacrilege (as they impiously styled it) and laid all the blame upon St. *Peter*, who they foretold should by the Name of Christ be worshipped 365 years, and then the Religion should speedily and infallibly cease. These years added to the 33 years, Our Saviour is supposed to have lived upon Earth fix the end of this term, according to the vulgar Computation, in the 398 year of our Lord, the 6*th.* of *Honorius* the Emperour, of *Rome* the 1151, the 11 Indiction *Fl. Honorius Augustus* the fourth time, and *Fl. Eutychianus* being Consuls.

De Civitate Dei, lib. 18. *cap. ult.* ---- *Christum quidem ab hujus tanquam Sacrilegii crimine faciunt innocentem, Petrum autem malefacia fecisse subjungunt ut coleretur Christi nomine* 365. *Annos, deinde completo memorato numero Annorum sine mora sumeret finem.*

The *Pagan* Superstition and Temples put down and demolished, both in the West and East.

61. How vain were the Hopes founded upon this lying Oracle appeared the following year, wherein Paganism it self received another stroak, by putting down the obscene and filthy shew of the *Mamma*, which having been formerly forbidden by an Edict, had been again restored three years agoe, but now either at the Intercession of *John Chrysostome* the Bishop of *Constantinople*, who ceased not to declaim against these *Spectacula*, or it being found by experience, hard to separate the Sport from its obscenity which had been pretended, was now by another Edict quite abolished. But this was but a Rite or Appendix of Pagan Superstition, which now it self this very year as St. *Augustine* observeth, went to wreck in all Places, the Temples of the Gentile Gods with their Idols, being every where demolished, especially in *Africk* by *Gaudentius* and *Jovius*, two Counts of *Honorius* the Emperour. Now as it ordinarily happeneth upon such occasions, the Multitude shewed more Zeal than Prudence, for being licenced by the Edicts of the Emperours, to demolish those Temples of Idols they fell upon many excellent and stately Buildings, and thereby very much defaced the Cities. This drew forth a Rescript from *Honorius*, commanding the People to abstain from publick Buildings, and permitting lawfull Sports, and such Recreations as were harmless and free from Pagan Impurities: *Arcadius* in the East gave them liberty to demolish such Temples as were in Countrey-Towns, and though in Cities they were permitted to stand for an Ornament of the Places, yet did Christians remove their Idols, and convert them to the use of their own Religion, which was generally done in all Places, though some were granted to private Persons, as appears by a Rescript, dated 16 years after this, and directed to the People of *Carthage*. Here the most magnificent and stately Temple of their *Dea Cœlestis*, was turned into a Christian Church, and received the Chair of *Aurelius*, the Bishop of that City. This *Dea Cœlestis* of the *Carthaginians*, was the same with *Astarthe* the Queen of Heaven, and Goddess of the *Sidonians*. The Idol which gave Oracles, as *Capitolinus* tells us, was placed upon a Lion, and contained most of the Names of all the Pagan Deities, being worshipped by several sorts of

C. Justin. lib. 11. *c.* 45. *C. Th. de pœnis leg.* 17. *C. Th. l.* 15. *c.* 16. §. 2.

C. Justin. c. 1. *c.* 11. §. 3. *Sicut sacrificia Templorum prohibemus ita volumus publicorum operum ornamenta servari.*

Ibid. §. 4. *Ut profanos ritus tam salubri lege submovimus, ita festos conventus civium & communem omnium lætitiam non patimur submoveri inde absq; ullo sacrificio atque ulla superstit. damnabil. &c.*

Ibid. §. 5. *C. Th. l.* 16. *Herodian lib.* 5. *cap.* 15.

Λίθυες μὲν ἣν αὐτὴν Οὐρανίαν καλοῦσι, Φοίνικες δ' Ἀστάρτην ὀνομάζουσι Σελήνην καὶ Θεὰν τέλουσι.

of People, by reason of the Diversities of Names, rather than distinction or variety of things, as St. *Ambrose* informeth. For though this Goddess was married by *Heliogabalus* the Emperour to his God, we do not hear she was fruitfull. *Contra Symmachum.*

62. Christians having the liberty either to demolish or rifle those Pagan Temples, had opportunity to pry into, and discover the inwards and most secret Mysteries of their Superstition. Hereby was the imposture of the wooden Snake discovered at *Rome*, where a quick one, or that of *Æsculapius* (who had many hundred years before, because of the Plague been pretended to be brought from *Epidamnus*) was said to live in a Cave. And the Privacies of *Apollo Palatinus*, being now unlocked and searched, the Books of *Sibylla*, wherein the remarkable Accidents and Fatalities of the City were said to be predicted, were found and burnt by *Stilico*, which *Rutilius* a Pagan Poet of that time sadly laments. Neither did the Gentiles take this patiently, sit still and look on, but in several Places made Insurrections, attempted the Rescue of their Idols and Temples, and suffered not the Christians to overcome without a bloudy Triumph. At the same time the Church was vexed by Intestine differences and disputes. For in *Africk* the *Donatists* plaid such Pranks, that the Emperours Command by an Edict, that the *Roysters* which roved up and down should be punished and restrained by the Sword. Whereupon *Petilianus* complaining, and crying out against Persecution, *Augustine* replies that Thieves and Robbers were not to be heard if they quarrelled with Migistrates for restraining their Villanies. The *Manichees* were also so insolent, that this same Bishop who had more reason to understand them than most others, found himself concerned at this time to write 33 Books against *Faustus*, a Ringleader amongst those Hereticks. The contentions about the Writings of *Origen*, rather increased than otherwise, against which *Hierome* was the main Combatant falling foul, especially on *John* the Bishop of *Jerusalem*, with whom to some Persons he seemed rather to be offended than with *Origen* himself, yet did the Episcopal Dignity of *John* somewhat repress his Choler which flew all out upon *Ruffinus*, whose Person was not guarded by any such Circumstance. But he bitterly inveighs not onely against him but all *Origenists*, who some years before had in appearance made up the far greater part of the Christian World. When *Theophilus* Bishop *Alexandria*, conceived they were to be wone and reduced by fair means, *Hierome* tells him by Letter, that such Levity displeased many good Men, and so far wrought with him, that he not onely expelled them out of *Egypt*, but that they might be so used in other places, wrote his paschal Letters against them, by which for the following year he appoints *Easter* to be kept on the 19*th.* of *Pharmuth*, or the 14*th.* of *April*, requiring *Epiphanius* to procure his Letters to be published throughout *Isauria*, *Pamphilia* and *Thrace*. Hereupon the *Origenists* are also condemned by the Rescripts of the Emperours.

Prosper.

Aug. ep. 202, *&c.*

Which caused Insurrections in divers Places.

The *Roysters* punished by the Edict of the Emperours.

C. Th. de Episcop. lib. 31. *Aug. adversus literas Petil. l.* 2. *c.* 43, *&c. De correctione Donatist. c.*11.

*Hierom. Tom. Ep.*30, 31, *&c.*

The *Origenists* condemned.

63. In the 400*th.* year of the ordinary *Æra* of *Christ*, the Consulship of *Fl. Stilico* and *Fl. Aurelianus* in the Month of *September*, was the first Provincial Council held at *Toledo*, a City of *Tarraconia* in *Spain*, consisting of 19 Bishops, for setling matters about the *Priscillianists*, wherein were composed twenty Canons for establishing Ecclesiastical Discipline. Hereof the second is observable, which *Gratian* hath inserted into his Decree, forbidding Penitents to be admitted into the Clergy except upon Necessity, and then amongst Door-keepers and Readers, yet so as not to reade the Epistle or Gospel. And if any had been formerly ordained Deacons, they were to be reduced amongst the Subdeacons, sitting with them as the *Gloss* expounds it in the Quire, and at meat, but without performing any thing of the Office. Now they explain whom they mean by a Penitent, *viz.* such as solemnly did Penance, for having after Baptism committed Murther, or other grievous Sins, and had been reconciled to the Church in Hair-cloath. The 8*th.* Canon forbids any one who had served in the Wars against Christians to be received so high as the Degree of a Deacon. Several of the rest concern the Wives and Children of Bishops, Priests and other Clerks, which whilst the Fathers were enacting, and endeavouring for Peace and Unity in *Spain*, the Difference still continued in the East, concerning the Opinions and Books of *Origen*. From the East the Contention flew into *Africk* and *Italy*, and in *Rome Origen* found many Favourers, amongst which *Melania* was very eminent, who much favoured the Cause and Person of *Ruffinus*. But *Marcella* a notable stickler for the other Party, with *Principia* were so addicted to *Hierome*, that they ceased not to instigate, by all means possible, *Anastasius* the *Roman* Bishop against *Ruffinus*, whom they procured him to cite to render a reason why he had translated the Books of

A Provincial Council held at *Toledo*.

Or for convenience *Gratian* hath it. *Dist.* 50. *c. penult. Placuit.*

of *Origen* περὶ ἀρχῶν at *Rome*, and after he had mightily extolled them to the World, had presently thence withdrawn himself. He answered without making appearance by Letter, that he had not fled from *Rome*, but returned into his own Countrey, which he had not seen for full thirty years; that he was now weary and broken with Travel and Old Age, and therefore resolved there to fix, and that he had not been the first Translatour, nor had first extolled and commended to the World the Works of *Origen*. This refusal provoked *Anastasius*, not onely to condemn *Origen* but *Ruffinus* too, and the following year he renewed his Censure. Afterward he seemed somewhat to relent and incline a little to the *Origenists*, but as *Hierome* writes, was then translated, lest by intreaty he should be brought to alter his Sentence formerly given. For he died on the twenty seventh of *April* of this present year, as some gather from certain Writings of St. *Hierome*, after he had governed but three years, though *Baronius* contends that he died not till *April* following, and so sate in the See of *Rome* four Years, a Month and thirteen Days. Of his Actions recorded this is most remarkable, that he compelled Priests to stand whilst the Gospel was reading. For at this aswell as at other times, there being great emulation betwixt Priests and Deacons in the *Romish* Church, the Deacons puffed up by the continual Addresses made to them from the People, because they dispensed the Goods of the Church, pressed upon the Priests, presuming to sit amongst, and give them their Blessing in the ordinary Feasts, and the Priests on the other hand acted by too much Indignation, disdained to stand upon their feet, when the Gospel was read by the Deacons.

Anastasius Bishop of *Rome* dies.

64. We have formerly told the Reader, that *Theophilus* Bishop of *Alexandria* being by *Hierome* incensed against the *Origenists*, banished such Monks as were of that Perswasion out of *Ægypt*. These men betake themselves to *Constantinople*, the Bishop whereof they acquaint with their grief, and indeavour to set him against *Theophilus*. Having the advantage of speaking face to face, they brought him into a good Opinion of their Cause, and made him patronize their persons by writing to the Bishop, whereby a very ill understanding was begot betwixt the two Prelates. But the Monks perceiving that they had profited little by seeking the Patronage of *John Chrysostome*, and that *Theophilus* was rather the more incensed both against themselves and him, made their Address to the Emperour, to whom they accused their Bishop of so heinous Crimes, as very much indangered his Head. *Chrysostome* being suspected to have an hand in the design, was very ill spoken of by the Party of *Theophilus*, and now *Epiphanius* ingages himself openly in the Quarrel, who having sent the Decrees of the Synods held at *Alexandria* and *Cyprus* against the *Origenists* to *Constantinople*, when he perceived he profited nothing, but those men were rather kindly entertained, resolved to go thither and oppose them in Person. In performing his Resolutions great Contest happened betwixt him and *Chrysostome*, concerning which, various, uncertain and several incredible Reports are made, but *Epiphanius* in one respect had a great advantage of the other, for *Chrysostome* by the severity of his Carriage and Reproofs had incurred the displeasure of many persons, but especially the hatred of the Great Ones at Court. His rigorous Exaction of Discipline made his Clergy hate him. His refusal to eat with other men, and to be present at Feasts and lawfull Divertisements increased the rumours, and gained credit to the Reports which they had raised, when he fell upon the Magistrates and Courtiers, they by their Countenance and Interest gave reputation to his Accusers, but when he came to fall out with *Eudoxia* the Empress, that utterly lost him. The insulting Invective he made against *Eutropius* the Eunuch, who took Sanctuary in the Church after he had procured the Emperour to take away the Privilege of those places, being against a man in misery, though a guilty and obnoxious person, got him the Repute of Ill-natur'd and Cruel. The thing that preserved his Reputation and life was his excellent Preaching, which yet was the less esteemed of by reason of an Æmulatour he had in the City.

Socrates l. 6. c. 4, &c.

65. This was *Severianus* a *Syrian* Bishop of *Gabale*, who understanding that *Antiochus* his Countreyman the Bishop of *Ptolemais* had got good store of money by preaching at *Constantinople*, made him a stock of Sermons, wherewith he came and set up in that City. At first by his Flatteries he prevailed much upon *Chrysostome*, and got his good esteem, but being popular for his Sermons, when the Bishop had withdrawn himself to *Ephesus* for filling that See, then vacant by the death of the Diocesan; he began to make a Party for himself, and draw the affections of the People from their proper Pastour to himself. The Jealousie which hereupon arose was increased into Enmity it self by means of *Serapion*, an insolent

lent and turbulent Deacon of that Church, who on a time refusing to rise up and shew respect to *Severianus*, though a Person so far above him as dignified by the Character of a Bishop, *Severianus* thereupon could not forbear from reviling him, and brake into this Expression, *If* Serapion *die a Christian, then Christ was not made Man.* The latter part of these words *Serapion* relates to *Chrysostome* as spoken by themselves, who thereupon having this advantage as he thought against him, flew out into great Passion and Invectives, neither would be reconciled to him till *Eudoxia* the Empress in the Apostles Church cast her young Son *Theodosius*, if *Socrates* was well informed, at his feet. Whatever she did in this case, if she was not already, long it was not e'er she fell out with him, and conceived an implacable hatred against him. The Emperour *Leo* in his Oration in praise of *Chrysostome* assigneth the original cause to his rebuking of her for spoiling the Widow of one *Theognostus* of part of her Husband's Estate, who had been unjustly condemned, and defrauding another Widow of *Alexandria* of a Sum of Money due to her. It's reported of her, that she fell out with *Epiphanius* at his coming to *Constantinople*, because he would not condemn *John* of Heresie, threatning to open the Idol Temples and permit the Pagans the exercise of their Superstition. However it's reported from several hands that *Chrysostome* and he parted in displeasure, and at his departure they mutually prophesied, he that *John* should die in Exile, and *John* that he should not live to return to his own See, both which it's said came to pass, though there be no great certainty concerning the time of *Epiphanius* his death. Amongst the Writings which go under his Name, the Oration in praise of the *Virgin Mary* is none of his, though cited by *Baronius*, *Canisius*, and *à Castro*, but a Declamation of another *Epiphanius* of later time, smaller Learning, poorer Credit and Authority in the Church, one of the Conveners at the second *Nicene* Council. *Mountague.*

66. This same year, *viz.* the CCCCII. of the ordinary *Æra* of *Christ*, was a General Council of the *African* Bishops held at *Milenis* in *Numidia* under the presidentship of *Aurelius* Primate of *Carthage*. There was another held at this place some fourteen years after, and the Canons of both are confounded by the compilers, as also with those of other Synods, for the first eight in order which respect Pelagianism can hardly be thought to have been made by the Fathers at this time wherein that Heresie was scarcely born, at least known unto the World. In the date the Collectours give the title of *Clarissimi* to the Emperours, which how ridiculous it is, appears by what we have formerly discoursed of such titles of honour, they had found *V.C.* in the Copies, which standing for their fifth Consulship they thus ignorantly interpret. In the mean while the enemies of *John Chrysostome* proceeded in their plots and designs against him. *Socrates* and others tell us, that being displeased with the Empress for taking the part of *Epiphanius*, he flew out into invectives against all Women, and spake so despitefully of them in his Sermons, particularly from that Text, *Gather to me those that eat of the table of* Jezebel, that she being made to believe he meant no other than her self, and *Antiochus* and *Severianus*, whom she maintained in the City, complained of him to the Emperour. It happened opportunely for them that *Theophylus* Bishop of *Alexandria*, being then summoned to Court as a criminal, was on his way thither. He is received not as such, but in triumphant manner lodged in the Palace, say some, and now private Cabals are held for the methods and ways of destroying *John*. They sent some Spies to inquire out the faults of his youth, thence to get some reflecting matter, but the design not taking, seven and thirty of them met together at *Chalcedon*, whither they cite him four times to appear before them, and when he refused them as unequal Judges, and was defended by forty other Bishops which assembled to him at *Constantinople*, they condemned him as contumacious and deposed him from his Bishoprick. When word hereof was brought to *Constantinople* all the City was in an uproar, watching day and night lest their Bishop should be taken from them, but the importunity of the Empress was so pressing upon her Husband, that by his command a guard of Souldiers took him by force, and putting him by night into a Boat, carried him to *Pretenum* a Mart Town of *Bithynia* over against *Nicomedia*, the People following and opposing the Souldiers to no purpose. *Tom. Conc. 1.*

Two Councils held at *Milenis* in *Numidia.*

John Chrysostome of *Constantinople* deposed.

67. This violent hurrying him away so inraged the Multitude that a great Sedition followed. As those in adversity are generally pitied, many that formerly had spoken against him, began now to take his part, and the Sermons of *Severianus* did but add Oil to the Flame, who ceased not to declaim against him, not as a Man that had been condemned for any Crime, but onely as a proud and insolent person. Things came to such a pass, that the Emperour with those about him thought it requisite to recall

But recalled.

recall him, and accordingly *Briso* an Eunuch belonging to the Empress was sent and brought him back to the City. *Theodoret* lays the cause upon a great Earthquake which happened at this time, by which *Eudoxia* was terrified and driven into this resolution. At his return he would gladly have remained without the City till he could be acquitted by another Assembly, and solicited the Emperour in that affair, but the People compelled him to go to his Church, and to preach to them as at other times, whence his Adversaries gathered matter again wherewith they charged him upon the next opportunity. He continued in his Chair for about the space of a year, preaching to the People those excellent Discourses, which being taken from his Mouth in Short-hand by some on purpose appointed, were afterwards published, to the great edification of the Church in all succeeding Ages: At length he split himself upon the same Rock, incurring afresh the displeasure of the Empress upon this occasion. The People erected her a Statue of Silver upon a pedestal of Porphyre very near to the Church of *Wisedom*, and at the Dedication celebrated Shews and Plays after the accustomed manner. Now either for that there was something in this Solemnity which savoured of Impiety and Superstition, the bonds of Christian liberty, and Imperial Laws made concerning such matters being violated, or because the place being too near the Church the noise and tumults made a disturbance in Divine Service, and in a manner prophaned the Ground; or out of his innate prejudice against all manner of *Spectacula*, and the severe austerity wherewith his best friends cannot deny but he was much transported, he declaimed earnestly against the thing. The Empress herewith being sore netled, and with the many scoffs and taunts he used against such as were Authours of the Solemnity, threatned him deposition and death also, and easily perswading *Arcadius* her Husband to lend her his Imperial Authority, wrote to the Bishops his Enemies requiring them to meet with all speed at *Constantinople*. *Chrysostome* upon notice hereof so far accommodated himself to the humour and condition of the times as to make another Sermon against her with this *Exordium*, Herodias *rageth afresh, stomacheth again, danceth as formerly; still seeketh the Head of* John *to be presented her in a Platter.*

Lib. 5. c. 34.

Is in displeasure of the Empress *Eudoxia.*

Socr. l. 6. *c.* 16. *Lat. vel* 18. *Gr.*

68. His Enemies the Bishops being re-assembled consulted all manner of ways how to accomplish the business for which they were called. In conclusion, when they had examined many Witnesses but found no testimonies strong enough to convict him of any crime, they fell upon that point upon intruding into his See, and produced against him the Canon of the Council of *Antioch*, which ordains, *That whosoever being deposed justly or unjustly should repossess himself of his See, without a Synod consisting of a greater number than those who deposed him should be again expelled and made irregular.* Against this Canon he justly excepted that it was made by the *Arians* on purpose to intrap *Athanasius* and therefore ought not in conscience to be urged against him, but they easily overruled his Plea by interest in the Emperour, whom having wearied with their importunities they procured to remove him. At first he was commanded to keep his House, but when he refused to neglect his duty in the Church, except compelled so to doe, and his Enemies still urged his expulsion to *Arcadius*, he was at length carried bound like a Malefactour into exile, those Bishops that were of his Party being imprisoned, and the People in vain bemoaning as well their own loss as the sufferings of their Pastour. Presently after happened a dreadfull Fire, which beginning in the Church flew thence into the Palace where the Senate sate and did very much mischief. The followers of *John* the exiled Bishop accused the Partizans of *Theophilus* as Authours thereof, and they again charged them with it, whom they branded with the Name of *Johanites*. *Socrates* indeed lays it upon them as done out of indignation at what the Bishop suffered, however such inquisition was made, and such tortures inflicted upon them by *Optatus* a Pagan, the Prefect of the City, that several of them upon this account have had the Honour to be reckoned amongst Martyrs. *Chrysostome* seeing no relief could be obtained in the East, where *Theophilus* his bitter Enemy was so potent, betook himself to the Bishop of *Rome*, whom by Letters he acquainted with his case. This was *Innocent* who succeeded *Anastasius*, after the Church had been vacant one and twenty days. He would gladly have promoted and shewed the Power and Interest of his See, in giving him assistence, but his endeavours aswell as aims were to no purpose.

And in a Council held at *Constantinople* is banished.

Lege Palladii Dial. de Vita Chrysostomi. Aug. de laudibus.

To *Anastasius* succeeds *Innocent* in the See of *Rome.*

69. For the Enemies of *Chrysostome* to fill his Chair, and cut off all hope of his Restitution, elected Bishop of *Constantinople Arsasius* an old decrepit Man, of fourscore years of Age, Brother to *Nectarius* who had formerly governed that See, a Man less Eloquent than Fishes, and a worse Singer than the Frogs, if

Arsasius chosen in the Chair of *Chrysostome* at *Constantinople.*

Palla-

Palladius be Judge, but of singular modesty and of meek behaviour, in the opinion of *Socrates*, who thereupon observeth, that the Church in his time enjoyed great ease and quietness. But many contemning him for the vast difference they found betwixt his parts and those of his Predecessour, and especially induced by a sense of that wrong which they conceived to be done to *John*, refused utterly to communicate with him, and separated themselves from his Church, which so provoked those of his Party, that great Persecutions were raised against them, some Imperial Edicts being procured for correction and restrainment of those who refused to communicate with him and his Fellow Bishops. In the mean time, whilst Christians by persecuting one another, and rending the seamless Coat of Christ, gave matter of scandal to the Enemies of their Religion, a greater matter of scandal was offered to such in the West, by renewing a great and solemn act of the old Pagan Superstition. This was the Celebration of the old Secular Games, which had been omitted ever since the Conversion of *Constantine* the Great, but now by permission of *Honorius*, who was made to believe that the omission of them would be fatal to the City, were for this one time more restored. Concerning these Solemnities, we have heretofore sufficiently spoken. This was the two hundredth year from that wherein *Severus* the Emperour celebrated his Games of an hundred and ten years, whereby it came to pass that they were confounded with the Centenaries, but the *Romans*, out of a fond respect to their old Superstition, desired to have them this way celebrated rather than not at all; and *Claudian* in the name of other Pagans, overcome with joy in Poetick Raptures, celebrates the praise of the Emperour for this so great an expression of kindness to his Subjects of the old stamp. But the Pagans having this Inch of liberty given them, improved it (as the Proverb hath it) to an Ell broad, procuring the old *Spectacula* of the *Gladiators* also to be restored, to the view of which the Vestal Virgins went out in a solemn Procession. For these and other things, as Divines observe, the Land groaned, and both Emperour and People suffered the dreadfull effects of God's Anger and Indignation, which within a year or two abundantly shewed themselves in the Invasion of *Italy* and other Parts of the West by the Barbarous Nations.

The Secular Games Celebrated.

Vide Part 1. *p.* 661. *sect.* 19.

And the *Spectacula* of the *Gladiators*.

Prudentius adversus Symmach. c. 2.

70. The same year that *Chrysostome* was driven into exile, St. *Augustine* the Bishop of *Hippo* disputed publickly in his Church two days together with *Fœlix* the *Manichee*, who overcome with his Arguments, confessed the truth, and renounced his errours. The year following, being the four hundred and fifth year of our Lord, in the second Consulship of *Stilico*, and the first of *Anthemius* on the eleventh of *November*, *Arsacius* the pretended Bishop of *Constantinople* died, having held the See a year and two months. About the Succession great heats and contention arose, and the Disputes continued for four months, after which in the next year, in the sixth Consulship of *Arcadius* and the first of *Probus* was *Atticus* Elected, a Man born at *Sebastia* in *Armenia*, brought up in the Monastical course of life by those of the *Macedonian* Heresie, from which afterward turning to the Catholick Faith he was made Priest of the Church of *Constantinople*, and became a stickler against *Chrysostome*; of mean learning, but of very good natural parts, and fit for business. By this means was *Chrysostome* kept out of his See, and still imprisoned, very hardly used, and removed at length from *Arabissus* toward *Pityventis* on porpose to harass him to death, in which Journey he died, and passed to an heavenly Countrey, whom in this World neither his eminent Piety, singular Learning, nor incomparable Eloquence could protect from the calumnies of Sycophants and unjust oppression. He was born at *Antioch* in *Cœlosyria* upon the River *Orontes*, of a Noble Family, his Father's Name *Secundus*, and his Mother's *Anchusa*. He studied at *Athens*, where applying himself to *Libinaus* for Rhetorick, and *Androgathius* for Philosophy, he profited in Learning to the admiration of the whole University, being yet a Pagan. Afterwards he and his Parents were converted, though he was very well learned in the Laws, yet resolving to betake himself to the Monastery, he studied Divinity under conduct of *Diodenis*, *Carterius*, *Eusebius*, *Emisenus*, and *Basil* the Great. Then was he made Reader of the Church of *Antioch* by *Zeno* Bishop of *Gara*, a Deacon by *Meletius*, after three years by *Euagrius* a Priest, and at length Bishop of *Constantinople*, and Patriarch of the Churches throughout *Thrace*, *Asia* and the Maritime Coasts. A most excellent both Man and Christian, but as such want not their failings, so is he observed to have been too rigid and austere, by which defect he seems partly to have brought much trouble upon himself. He wrote some Books whilst yet a Reader, some when Deacon, others when

Arsacius of *Constantinople* dies.

Atticus elected in his stead.

John Chrysostome dies in exile.

Socr. l. 5. *c.* 17. *Soz. l.* 8. *c.* 27. *Palladius ubi suprá.*

Socrates. Soz. l. 8. *c.* 2. *Niceph. l.* 10. *c.* 2. *Theodoret. l.* 5. *c.* 28. *Palladius Metaphrasis.*

when Priest, but most after he came to be Bishop. His Works yet extant were by *Erasmus* digested into five Tomes, since that published in an Excellent Edition by our Sir *Henry Savil.* Many Spurious pieces bear his name, which *Sixtus Senensis* and others have detected. The *Liturgie* said to be his is of the same stamp, for it hath a Prayer for *Alexius* the Emperour who was Born long after his death, and for *Nicholas* the Pope or else the Patriarch of *Constantinople.* The Copies much differ one from another. Amongst the Saints there remembred mention is made of *Chrysostome* himself. Worshipping the Image of *Christ* is spoken of, whereas he in his genuine writings as his 50*th* Homily upon *Matthew* accounts the Art of Painting Superstitious; and the second *Nicene* Synod though it scrape up all the Testimonies it can in behalf of Images, yet never citeth the *Liturgie* of *Chrysostome.*

Several Judgments upon his Persecutours.

71. Ecclesiastical Writers observe that many and remarkable Judgments fell upon his persecutours not long after they had accomplished the effects of their Malice. Observable is that story told of *Cyrinus* Bishop of *Chalcedon*, on whose foot *Maruthas* Bishop of *Mesopotamia* treading against his will, when they were assembled in a Synod against *John*, it so corrupted of the bruise that he was forced to cut it off, but the putrefaction running over his whole Body, and falling at length into his other Foot he was constrained to lose both and miserably died. *Theophilus* Bishop of *Alexandria* whose carriage in this business makes us suspect he too much deserved the Character given him by *Socrates*, notwithstanding that *Baronius* would fain make him a good and holy Man, not long after was taken with a Pain in his side and died. *Antiochus* and *Severianus* scarcely overlived him. Hail of an unusual bigness fell at *Constantinople*, four days after which was taken away *Eudoxia* the Empress by a miserable manner. Neither were other Calamities wanting, as Plague, Famine, Inundations, Earthquakes, Droughts, Wars and such like miseries as shortly after befell *Greece.* However *Chrysostome* was looked upon in the East whilst he lived, when dead his memory presently began to be very pretious throughout the whole Church, which *Innocent* the Bishop of *Rome* perceiving excommunicated *Arsacius* his Successour, though already departed this World, together with the Emperour *Arcadius* and *Theophilus* the Bishop of *Alexandria*, if credit may be given to the later *Greek* Historians, and a Book in the Vatican Library cited by *Baronius*, whereas the more Ancient Writers and those of better Note relate no such matter, and *Theophilus* whom they will have deposed sate fast in his See till his death, not to speak that the Synod which Condemned *Chrysostome* how unjustly soever, could not with more Justice be condemned by *Innocent* without an hearing.

Vide Socr. l. 6. Cap. 14. 17. Lat. Sozom. Niceph. Theod.

Several Edicts against the Pagans, *Cœlicolæ* and *Jews.*

72. The year following, being the 408 of the ordinary *Æra* of Christ, *Honorius* the Emperour published some Rescripts against the *Donatists* and *Pagans*, which upon the death of *Stilico* were become high and domineering in *Africk* to such an height that pretending such Laws as had been made formerly against them to have been his mere device without any Imperial Authority, they rose up against the Orthodox Christians and murthered certain Bishops. In one of those Rescripts of the Emperour together with the *Donatists* are the *Cœlicolæ* condemned, who are also in another Edict of the following year joyned and sentenced with *Jews.* What these *Cœlicolæ* should be is very obscure, the name being new and unheard of as the Edict it self bears mention, though they are joyned also in an Edict of *Constantine.* Some have thought them Pagans and Worshippers of the *Dea Cœlestis* formerly mentioned, some a sort of *Essenì* amongst the *Jews*, who Worshipped the *Host of Heaven*; but that they were Christians herein appears because they were Baptized. Yet are they not reckoned amongst Hereticks by those that have made Catalogues of such, so that they seem to have been a sort of Judaising Christians or Christianized *Jews*, and to shun the *Odium* of Judaism might take upon them this name of *Cœlicolæ* living under their *Majores*, as the *Jews* did under their Patriarchs. But this same year also *Theodosius* the Emperour gave out another Edict against the *Jews* who upon pretence of celebrating the Memory of the hanging of *Aman* dragged Crosses up and down the Streets and burnt them in derision and despight of Christian Religion. He requires the Governours of Provinces to prevent this Scandal and upon Commission of the like Offence threatens the *Jews* with forfeiture of their remaining Privileges. About this time died *Porphyrius* Bishop of *Antioch* a great Adversary of *Chrysostome*'s, who after the death of *Flavianus* had invaded that See by fraud and Tyranny. For whilst the whole City in the grove of *Daphne* was intent upon the *Spectacula*, he was ordained Bishop by *Severianus*, *Acacius* and *Antiochus* those of his faction with such speed that

C. Th. de hæret. c. 19. & de Paganis.

Porphirius Bishop of *Antioch* dies.

Ut suprà, l. 43. Cod. Just. lib. 1. tit. 9. Cœlicolarum nomen inauditum quodam modo nonum crimen superstitionis vindicavit. Vide glossam in leg. 12. tit. dict. Aug. Ep. 163.

Vide cod. Just. lib. 1. tit. 9. leg. 3.

Tit. eod. l. 11.

Sozom. l. 2. c. 24. Niceph. l. 13. c. 30. Theodor. l. 5. c. 35.

that many accustomed Rites were thereby omitted, for which fact the People was so inraged that they had set fire to his House and burnt him, but that by strong hand they were overpowered by the Governour of the Town, whom he had corrupted with Money. In his place was chosen *Alexander*, a Man brought up in the Monastical course of Life, and of great repute for Piety and Learning, who by joyning in one the parties of *Paulinus* and *Meletius* restored Peace to that Church, and made an end of that Schism which had lasted sixty years, from the Ejection of *Eustathius*.

Alexander succeeds him.

73. The next year was the City of *Rome* besieged by *Alaricus*, upon which occasion when as the *Pagans* betook themselves to their false Deities, *Zozimus* their Historian relates that *Innocent* the Bishop of that City did secretly consent to certain solemnities of that superstition induced by the great proffers made by the *Tuscan Aruspices*, for which report as a mere Scandal *Baronius* is exceedingly concerned. Considering the temper of the relater we cannot but joyn with the Cardinal in his charitable opinion, (though this be not so much a reason to him as something else, and he refuse on Authority how vile soever of which he may make use against us Hereticks) yet cannot but wish that he who shewed so much zeal in behalf of a particular Bishop would have employed a little in opposing some Reliques of those Heathenish impieties which yet cleaved to the Professours of Christianity. For not to speak of that Deluge of Wickedness of which *Chrysostome*, *Hierome* and other Fathers of this time complain, which spread both over the Eastern and Western Empire, the Emperours though Christians as well as their *Pagan* Predecessours suffered their Images to be adored, and this very year according to the old Custome speak of themselves as Gods, and Attribute Divinity to their Persons, none opening his Mouth in reprehension of so unwarrantable a pratice. Notwithstanding the Fathers of the Church, to give them their due in this particular, ceased not to declaim against the *Spectacula* and the Licentious practices of the Stage, of which the Pagans, as *Augustine* observeth, were the first Founders, yet Christians still too much loved and retained these obscene Sports, frequenting Bawdy Houses, *Salvian* also complains, and the Emperour *Honorius* is noted as guilty of incest for having Married two of *Stilico*'s Daughters Successively. Yet amidst those great difficulties wherewith at this time he was incumbred, he forgot not to publish several wholesome Laws against *Magicians*, *Pagans*, *Jews* and the lately mentioned *Cœlicolæ*, which are yet extant in the Code of *Theodosius*; in behalf of Prisoners also, commanding that every Lord's day they should be let out of Prison to receive the Almes of good People, and to the publick Bathes for the Improvement of Religion; the consideration of which made St. *Hierome* deny it was for his Sins that so great Calamity now befell his People, and lay the Siege and Captivity of the City of *Rome* at the Doors of the obstinate and perfidious Gentiles.

Alaricus lays Siege to *Rome*.

Nulli habetur ambiguum etiam ab hæredibus & pro hæredibus posse rescripta nostri numinis allegari. c. Th. l. 1. t. 2. l. 10. Tit. de mulct. Pagan. de custod. reorum.

Honorius sends forth his Edicts against *Magicians*, *Pagans*, *Jews* and *Cœlicolæ*.

74. The year following wherein *Rome* was taken by *Alaricus* being the 410 of the ordinary *Æra* of Christ, *Ruffinus* the Priest of *Aquileia* and great Patron of the Person and Works of *Origen* died in *Sicily*, having retired himself thither upon aproach of *Alaricus*. Against him St. *Hierome* unhandsomely insults being now dead, and not able to answer for himself; but he had given him such Nicknames whilst alive, that no wonder he should maintain what he had formerly said and done: For in his Writings he ordinarily gives him the name of *Scorpius*, sometimes he calls him *Grunnius*, the forerunner of *Pelagius*, and other good Epithetes he gives him, by the consent and Approbation of *Baronius*, who over and above accuseth him for foisting into the Books he Translated things quite different from the Design of the Authour. Indeed his Translations of *Greek* Authours as now extant seem to have been the products of a most negligent, ignorant and dissolute Interpreter, but the Annalist hath no great reason to condemn him in this Point having made so much use of him in reading those which he could not understand in their own Language. This makes him accuse *Josephus* most falsely for contradicting himself about *Salome*, as if he sometimes called her *Herod*'s Sister, and sometime his Wife, whereas the very place he quotes is Sister, but herein he follows *Ruffinus* his Translation, and having no skill in the Language (which certain it is he had not, saith one who was able to judge) or otherwise relying upon Interpreters he is often plunged upon Absurdities as in due time and place may be made apparent. In the mean time we shall take notice that *Theodosius* the Emperour this year published several Rescripts against *Priscillianists*, *Eunomians* and *Montanists* to be seen in the Title of Hereticks in the Code of *Theodosius*. As also that about this same time *Synesius* whose Epistles are yet extant was made Bishop of

Ruffinus dies.

Tom. 1. *Ep.* 16. 59. *Præf. in Hieron.*

Bp. Mountague, Appar. c. 4.

Theodosius publisheth several Rescripts against the *Priscillianists*, &c.

Synesius made Bishop of *Ptolemais.*

of *Ptolemais*, concerning whom some admire he should be reckoned amongst Ecclesiastical Writers, much more intrusted with so great a charge. He was Born a *Greek* and *Pagan*, of a Noble Family, in his Youth given to Hunting and the study of the Liberal Sciences, wherein he excelled being of the Platonick Sect. *Euagrius* who calls him Bishop of *Cyrene* desiring not to forget him, that the excellency of his vertues, as he saith, might set forth the simplicity of his Style, writes, that he was so eloquent and so profound a Philosopher that being had in great admiration by impartial Christians they perswaded him to be Baptized, and take upon him the Priestly function, though he neither admitted nor would be brought to believe the Article of the Resurrection; and this they did, hoping very charitably of him, that those things would follow after his other vertues, and that the grace of God would suffer nothing to want in him that belonged unto his Souls health, which hope of theirs, saith our Authour, was not in vain. For how Excellent he proved, both the learned Epistles he wrote, after he was Priest, and the Book he dedicated to *Theodosius*, with other notable Monuments of his industry, do declare. *Vide Euagrium, l. 1. c. 15. Synesii Epp.*

75. This that *Euagrius* writes of him is but agreeable to what he saith himself in his Epistles; yet *Baronius* concludes that assuredly there was no such matter as his being ordained by *Theophilus*, the Bishop of *Alexandria*, holding such an opinion concerning the Resurrection, pronounces those highly mistaken that believe it, and as knowing fully his mind affirms he did but jest and not write what he thought, his design herein being to prevent the imposition of the Episcopal function upon him, which he as much as death abhorred. Certainly *Euagrius* and *Nicephorus* might by living nearer to his Age have as good opportunity, to know the meaning of *Synesius* as the Cardinal, whose good opinion of *Theophilus* (for Men must be good or bad as maketh for his great design) hath no good foundation in Antiquity. *Synesius* not onely refused to be Bishop upon the account of the Resurrection (for Hereticks seldom refuse such conditions as may enable them better to propagate and countenance their errours) but out of a Lazy humour which very hardly would admit of business, and especially because he flatly refused to live without his Wife in the Ministery (which since the promotion of *Siricius* had become too commendable) neither converse privately with her as a Concubine, whom both God, the Law and the sacred hand of *Theophilus*, as he saith himself, had given to him. Notwithstanding this his Protestation yet the People was so importunate that *Theophilus* ordained him Bishop, not hoping that he would change his mind as to keeping his Wife, but in his belief as to the Resurrection; for the Cardinal is not ignorant (however he conceals all he may) that notwithstanding the Custome which at this time obtained in *Thessaly* (introduced by *Theodorus* a Priest of *Triva* and Authour of certain wanton and amorous Books intitled *Æthiopica*) *that a Priest using the Company of his Wife which he Married when a Lay-man should be deposed*, yet such Bishops and Priests in the East as refrained their Company did it at their own choice without any Law or Compulsion, and many of them notwithstanding their Government and Administration of their Episcopal function, in the time of *Socrates* begat Children on their lawfull Wives, which we shall have occasion to shew that in the East they ever did, and in the West for many Centuries yet downward, till the Decrees of the *Roman* See at length with much adoe obtained. As for *Synesius* after his Consecration he contended against Heresies indeed, and exhorted his Presbyters so to doe. Of his Writings few are extant, except a Volume of his Epistles, from which it appears that he thought soberly and orthodoxly concerning the Holy Trinity, concerning other Doctrines he speaks not much, but of this little whatever he thought of the Resurrection, some things cannot be commended, as that the Mind of Man is the Seed of God, that Angels by their conversation with Men have contracted ill affections, that thereupon the Son of God came down, that sins are purged by punishment. When Bishop he wrote some Books concerning hunting, much busied himself about the works of *Homer* and such frivolous things. In adversity he was so overcome with passion and dejection that he was near killing himself for the death of his Son. It repented him that he had suffered the Episcopal function to be imposed on him. He lived still with his Wife, and begat Children after his Consecration, and was of a candid, free and open spirit. But enough of *Synesius*. *Lib. 5. c. 22.*

His Works and Character.

76. The year following, which had *Theodosius* the Emperour alone for Consul, by reason of the Disorders in the West, a Conference was held at *Carthage*, betwixt the *Catholicks* and *Donatists*, which though it had the usual effect upon the Disputants themselves, yet of the ordinary People, and those called *Circumcelliones* *Aug. Brev. Coll.*

Theodosius publisheth an Edict against the *Donatists*.

liones, very many are said to have been reduced into the Right way; and the Emperour following on the stroke lately given by the Orthodox Bishops to this Heresie, in the next year publisheth a severe Edict, which inflicts exile and most grievous Fines, upon such as should still pertinaciously continue in that Schism. *C. Th. de Haeret. l. 52.*

Theophilus Bishop of *Alexandria* dies.

This same year on the fifteenth of *October*, died *Theophilus* Bishop of *Alexandria*, of a Lethargy, after which followed a great Contest about the Election of his Successour, some stickling hard for *Timothy* the Archdeacon, and others for *Cyril* the Nephew of *Theophilus*. Though *Abundantius* Governour of the Town used his utmost endeavour for promotion of the former, yet *Cyril* carried it three Days after the decease of his Uncle, and if *Socrates* deal fairly with us, assumed to himself more Power than he ever had enjoyed. From this time forth, he tells us, the Bishop of that See besides the Government of his Clergy and Jurisdiction in Ecclesiastical matters, took also upon him the management of temporal Affairs, as a token whereof *Cyril* presently shut up the *Novatian* Churches in *Alexandria*, and not onely rifled them of all their Treasure, but robbed also *Theopemptus*, their Bishop of all his Estate. But from these differences at *Alexandria* a Dissention of greater Consequence diverts us, a notable Heresie springing up in the Church at this time, the Sower of which Cockle had his Birth and Original in this our Island of *Britain*. His *British* Name was *Morgan*, in *Greek* and *Latin Pelagius*, signifying in *English*, near the Sea. He was a Monk of the Monastery of *Bonium* or *Bangor* in *Flintshire*, wherein lived two thousand Persons famous for their diligent labour, aswell as their solitary Course of Life; but quitting that Place travelled up and down the World, and contrary to the observation passing the Seas changed his mind, aswell as the Air, and either received from others, (for *Baronius* would lay the load upon *Ruffinus*) or himself conceived many and grievous Errours, which now disturbed the Peace of the Church, after her Triumphs over the *Arian* Heresie. *Lib. 7. cap. 7.*

Cyril succeeds.

Morgan or *Pelagius* an Heretick.

Pestifero vomuit coluber Sermone Britannus. Prosper Aquit. Camden. in Cestria. Usserius de primord. Eccles. Britan. Cœlum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt.

First taken notice of by St. *Chrysostome*.

77. The first that took notice of his heterodox Opinions, St. *Chrysostome* seemeth to have been in his fourth Epistle to *Olympias*, wherein he lamenteth his fall, whom formerly he had looked upon as an Holy Man. This was two years before the death of that good Bishop, the ordinary year of our Lord, 405. about seven Years before the time that *Prosper* assigneth for the Worlds taking notice of this Heresie, though St. *Augustine* also much about that time, as we may easily perceive had smelt it out. But all this while for fear of a discovery, and the brand he should infallibly receive from the Hands of the Pious and Learned Fathers of the Church, he published his Tenents in the Names of other Men, by the means and procurement, especially of *Cœlestius* his chief Disciple. Not onely St. *Augustine* (whom as * some observe how truely I know not, by Divine dispensation, *Africk* brought forth the same day, that he was born in *Britain*, as an Antidote against the Poison) both by Words and Writing opposed this Doctrine. But St. *Hierome* also, though concealing both the Names of *Pelagius* and *Cœlestius*, yet hinting at his Original by twitting the Island of *Britain* as fertile in Tyrants, and the *Scotish* Nation. He deduceth the Pedigree of these Errours, from the School of the *Stoicks*, all along through the Successions of *Origen* (who yet certainly was rather a Retainer to the Academy than the Porch) *Euagrius*, *Ponticus*, *Ruffinus*, and others of that perswasion, taking in the Alliance of the *Manichees* and *Priscillianists*, and descending to *Jovinianus*. At length *Cœlestius* published his Heresies at *Carthage*, yet craftily under the notion of questions onely, where assoon as published, they were refelled and condemned by an Assembly of Ecclesiasticks, there gathered together. After this *Pelagius* not able to hold any longer pulled off the Vizard of an Orthodox Priest, and openly maintained his opinions, upon spreading whereof and advice from *Carthage*, a Synod of Bishops was held at *Lidda* or *Diospolis* a City of *Palestine*, under *Eulogius* Bishop of *Cæsarea*, and Metropolitan of that Province where *Pelagius* recanted, and out of fear hypocritically anathematized his former assertions. *In Chron. de peccat. merit. l. 3. cap. 1.* *De peccator. meritis & Ep.* * *Demster. Hist. Scot. l. 15.* *Ep. ad Ctesiphontem.*

Being summoned to *Diospolis*, he hypocritically recants his assertions.

78. Those were twelve in number as *Baronius* findeth them in the *Cresconian* Edition, inserted after the Epistle of *Aurelius* Bishop of *Carthage*, to those of the *Provincia Bizacena*. 1. "That *Adam* was created mortal, so that whether he had "sinned or no he should have died. 2. That his Sin hurt onely himself, and not his "Posterity. 3. That Infants newly born are in the same State, that he was before "his Fall. 4. That neither through his Death and Prevarication do all Men "die, neither through Christ's Resurrection shall rise again. 5. That Infants "though they should never be baptized, yet may obtain Eternal Life. 6. That Rich

Which are these.

"Rich men though baptized, yet except they renounce all they have cannot obtain the Kingdom of Heaven. 7. That the Grace and Assistence of God is not afforded to the several Acts, but they depend upon free Will, belong to the Law and Doctrine. 8. That the Grace of God is given according to our Merits. 9. That none could be called the Sons of God, except they were made utterly void of all Sin. 10. That the Will is not free if it stand in need of God's Assistence, it being in the Power of every one to doe or not doe any thing. 11. That our Victory is not from the Help and Assistence of God, but proceeds from our own free Will. And 12. that forgiveness of Sin is not given to those that ask it, for the Grace and Mercy of God, but according to the Merits and Endeavours of such as by their Repentance do deserve it. Those Assertions are of the very same Nature, with such as are found in the Books of St. *Augustine*, St. *Hierome*, *Prosper* and others, who have had occasion to mention them in their Writings, and speak of some other Tenents, most of which are rather Consequences of those, as some of those are of others, than really divers and distinct from them; the Summ of all being this, that as we are born without Goodness and Vertue, so absolutely without vice or flaw in our Wills and Inclinations. For if all depend merely upon our own Will, the Law might send them to Heaven who lived under it, aswell as the Gospel can do us, and if they really were not, yet they might have been without Sin; and to what purpose should the Church put up her Prayers and Petitions for Infidels, and such as resist the Truth, or that those who are already converted, should grow in Grace and Vertue, and persevere in them till the end, if we receive not these things from God, but are endowed sufficiently with Power within our own selves, and the Grace of God be onely conferred on us according to our own Merits and self Sufficiency? what need Saints pray to have their Sins forgiven if they live without them, or not to be led into Temptation, if they stand not in need of God's Assistence, but have Power enough in themselves, and their Wills be sufficient to weather it out against all hardships and opposition? As for the Grace of God, it appears from the fourth Canon of the Council of *Milenis* (which as we said before must have been holden not till the discovery made of this Heresie) that *Pelagius* and his most thorough paced Disciples, understood no more by it than the Revelation of the Divine Will, whereby a Man might know what was agreeable or dissonant to it; but as for the Power of fulfilling God's Command, that a Man hath for his own natural strength, standing in no need therein of his Grace and Assistence. Though *Pelagius* by his great dissimulation imposed upon the Fathers assembled at *Dioppolis*, yet their jealousie thereof seems not utterly wanting, in that they gave him no Letters testimonial of his Repentance and Sincerity, which happened well both for themselves and other Orthodox Christians, he in a short space recanting what he had before them renounced, and licking up his Vomit, which he had in appearance spued out in their presence.

A Tumult at *Alexandria*, but suppressed.

79. Whilst *Pelagius* a false Brother raised such stirs and Contentions amongst Christians themselves a notable Tumult happened at *Alexandria*, betwixt such as bore that Name there, and the *Jews* and *Pagans* of that City upon this occasion. A certain Dancer shewed his feats of activity upon a *Saturday*, which being the Sabbath of the *Jews*, they thereat took great offence, and burning ever with hatred against Christians raised a Tumult, which for this time was appeased by the Care and Endeavours of *Orestes* the Prefect of the City. But it happening that *Orestes* fixing upon the Theatre, some Decree or Law to be for the future observed by the People, some of *Cyril* the Bishop's Friends were curious to peruse it, and amongst the rest one *Hierax* a Grammarian in great grace with him, whom as soon as the *Jews* beheld they cried out upon him, that he came thither for no other end than to move Contention betwixt Christians, and those of their persuasion, and laying hands on him, haled him to *Orestes*. He being a Pagan and a great Enemy of *Cyril*, whom he hated as well upon account of his Faith as Profession, because that the Power of the Bishops in *Alexandria* had much abridged the Authority of the Governours, caused him to be severely beaten. *Cyril* upon notice hereof, sends for the most eminent amongst the *Jews*, and threatens them with condign Punishment, in case they gave not over these mutinous Courses, wherewith they were grievously offended, and set themselves more carefully than ever, to work some natable feat, and shew their utmost rage and spleen against the Professours of Christianity. One certain Night having prepared themselves for this purpose, they set some to crie Fire in the Streets, and to give out it was in the Church of *Alexander*, which assoon as the Christians heard, they

Socrat. l. 7. cap. 13. &c. Niceph. l. 14. cap. 14.

Another upon which the *Jews* are disdriven and driven thence.

they issue out of their Houses, and from all Coasts making toward that place, fall amongst the *Jews*, lying in Ambush for them, by whom they are miserably slain without respect to any Condition. Hereupon *Cyril* the Bishop gets him to the Synagogue of the *Jews*, of whom some he causeth to be put to death, the Estates of others to be seized, and banisheth the rest, whereby they who had inhabited the City from *Alexander*'s time, were now dispersed into all Countries.

Upon which a Quarrel 'twixt the Governour and the Bishop ariseth.

80. *Orestes* the Governour taking the thing it self in ill part, as depriving the City of those People, which by their egregious cunning in trade and practice in brokage, make their Company desirable to several Places, and worse as done by him, makes a great complaint hereof to the Emperour. *Cyril* was not wanting to himself on the other hand, in laying open the Insolence and Cruelty of the *Jews*, yet desired to be friends with *Orestes*, which offer the other would not close with, either merely by reason of his Ethnick, and inveterate prejudice, or for that he intended to act the second part of what the *Jews* had formerly performed. But their Enmity daily increasing, the Monks that inhabited the Mount *Nitria* took notice thereof, and being at leisure, also as hotly disposed, as lately when *Theophilus* armed them against the Party of *Dioscorus*, resolved to maintain the Quarrel of *Cyril* his Successour, and fifty of them coming to *Alexandria* assaulted the Governour as he rode in his Chariot, calling him *Sacrificer*, a *Heathen*, and giving him much other opprobious Language. He to appease them, told them he was a Christian, having been baptized by *Atticus* Bishop of *Constantinople*, but they would give no credit to his words, and prosecuting what they had begun, one amongst them, *Ammonius* by Name, gave him so sore a blow on his Head with a stone, that the bloud gushed out about his Ears, and the Officers and Sergeants attending him out of fear shifted for themselves, the Governour continuing in this danger, till the Citizens came in to his rescue, and seized on *Ammonius*, whose Fellows had made a shift to get away. Him the Governour caused to be tortured to death, and both he and *Cyril* again by writing, make their case as good as they can possibly to the Emperour. But the Bishop buries the Corpse of the Monk in a peculiar Church, changeth his Name from *Ammonius* to *Thamnasius*, and in a kind of Funeral Sermon extolls the noble Courage of the Man, the great Combat he endured for Godliness, and gives Command he should be called a Martyr, which gave offence to the more moderate and sober sort of Christians, that knew how to distinguish betwixt the Cause, and the Punishment, and were satisfied that the Monk died not for Christ, but suffered what was due to his seditious and unwarrantable Enterprize.

Which is scandalously carried on.

81. These just and sober Sentiments of the judicious sort of Christians, caused *Cyril* to suffer the thing to dye, and be forgotten with the Monk, but still the grudge continued betwixt him and *Orestes*, which produced another piece of imprudence, and scandal on the Christian Part, after this manner. There was a Woman at *Alexandria*, by Name *Hypatia*, the Daughter of *Theon* the Philosoper, who trained up in her Father's way excelled all the Philosophers of that time, continued in *Plato*'s School the exercise formerly practised by *Plotinus*, publickly read the Doctrine of all Philosopers to such as from all Countries flocked to hear her, and was had in extraordinary Honour and Esteem, not onely for her Learning, but exceeding Modesty, Gravity and Courage, which she had sucked in from her Philosophical Principles. Many Letters of *Synesius* to her are yet extant, who calls her Lady and Mistress, and *Suidas* takes notice of her, as a most chast Virgin. This Person it seems being in great favour with the Governour, the People grew jealous, that she did ill Offices betwixt him and the Bishop, and in conclusion certain frantick and rash Fellows headed by one *Peter* a Reader of the Church, watching her as she came home to her House, pulled her out of her Chariot, and dragging her into the Church called *Cæsarium*, stripped her stark naked, with sharp shells rent the Skin from her Body till she died, then quartering her brought the Quarters to a place called *Cinaron*, where they burnt them to Ashes. This divelish Act brought great scandal to Christianity in general, aswell as the Church of *Alexandria*, and the Person of *Cyril*. *Socrates* is so precise in the Account thereof, that he notes it was committed in the fourth year after *Cyril*'s Consecration, the tenth Consulship of *Honorius*, and the seventh of *Theodosius* (which was the 416 of the ordinary *Æra* of Christ) in the Month of *March* and the Ember-days. Yet *Baronius* admonisheth his Reader not to give credit to the Relater of those Stories, whom being a *Novatian* he concludeth prejudiced against the Bishop, for what at his first coming to his Office he had done

done against those of that persuasion. However we commend the Cardinal for his Charity to a Person of so eminent Dignity in the Church, or rather, if one might dare to judge, to his Champions the Monks, of whose bald Skulls (if they shaved themselves at this time) he is as tender as of the Bishop's Mitre, yet out of a principle of indifference we must also tell the Reader, that others conversant in Antiquity do observe, that as this Age was generally very corrupt, so no greater Plague happened to the Church and Common-wealth, than that of the Monastical Life, which for about an Hundred years had filled the World with so many drones, that scarcely did any hope he could be saved except quitting his station, in which God's Providence had placed him, he exposed the Church and State to the Lust and Tyranny of Robbers and Thieves, who at this time broke into all Places. And because Faithfulness is the most requisite Quality in an Historian, we cannot but farther alledge in *Socrates* his behalf, that those times whereof he now wrote, were as the Morning to his own Day, and therefore however, he or any other might Counterfeit what there was no clear Light to discern, and tell Stories which none could contradict, being beyond the Memory of any alive, yet at such time as the Knowledge of matters must needs be fresh, it were extreme Folly to assert such Fables as both their fresh Date, and Eminence of Persons by whom, and of Places where, they should be acted must necessarily lay open to the Contradiction and Derision of Eye-witnesses and By-standers.

82. But as for the *Jews*, their sufferings were so far from humbling them, that instead of making amends for what they formerly committed, they perpetrate other outrageous acts, which draw down more severe punishments upon them. For shortly after in a place betwixt *Chalcis* and *Antioch* in *Syria*, called *Inmestar* at the time of their Plays and Interludes, in derision of Christ and Professours of Christianity they nail a Child of that Profession to a Cross, lift him up into the Air, and having derided and other ways abused him, scourge him to death; which being known procured great disorders betwixt the Christians and them. And the Emperours acquainted with the horrible Fact, gave orders to the Magistrates of the Countrey to make diligent inquisition, and severely punish it; whereby it came to pass (as the Historian phraseth it) that the *Jews* inhabiting those Parts, for what they had shamefully committed in jest were punished in earnest. The Rescript it self is not extant in either of the Codes, but this year *Theodosius* by an Edict still remaining in his own Book, commands the Honorary Prefectship to be taken from *Gamaliel* (whom *Baronius* rationally conjectureth to have been their Patriarch mentioned by St. *Hierome*) and other punishments to be inflicted on that vagabond People, which example *Honorius* following in the West, a little after publisheth such another Law against *Jews* having any Civil or Military employment.

Socr. l. 7. c. 16.

The *Jews* grown more insolent, are punished by Edicts from the Emperours.

C. Th. de Jud. l. 22, & 24.

John Bishop of *Jerusalem* dies, *Praylus* succeeds.

Innocent Bishop of *Rome* departs this life.

Ordained the Sabbath or Saturday for a Fast.

83. In the twenty fourth year of the Reign of *Honorius*, the four hundred and sixteenth of Christ, died *John* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, after he had governed that See thirty years, into whose room *Praylus* was elected. And the year following was the last of *Innocent* Bishop of *Rome*, who died on the twentieth of *July*, after he had sate in that See fifteen years, one month and ten days. *Platina* telleth us in his Life, that busying himself much with things appertaining to Christian Religion, amongst other things he ordained that the Sabbath or Saturday should be a Fast, both because our Lord lay that day in the Grave, and for that his Disciples thereon fasted. This we find in a Decretal Epistle to *Decennius* Bishop of *Eugubium* going under his Name, wherein the reason for Fasting on Saturday is given, because that day and the day before were spent in sorrow and heaviness by the Apostles, who also hid themselves for fear of the *Jews*. As for these Decretal Epistles of his, Learned Men do very much suspect them forged, because they contain many Traditions utterly unknown to the Divines and Writers of that Age; and intire Paragraphs are found in them, which are also to be seen in the Writings both of the preceding and following Popes. The third Epistle to *Exuperius* makes mention of five Books of *Solomon*; the twenty second talks of the Episcopal *Infulæ*, which then were not in use amongst Christians. The Epistle to the Council of *Carthage* is silly and ridiculous; the ninety first and the ninety third amongst those of St. *Augustine* are esteemed no better than spurious by *Erasmus*. However we must own this Fasting on Saturday to have been a Custome in the *Roman* Church before this Decretal of *Innocent*, if such there were. Indeed in the Eastern Church the Sabbath or Saturday was kept as a Festival, as appears by one of the Canons going under the Name of the Apostles, and it

Tom. 1. Conc.

Can. 65.

was

was unlawfull to Fast on it, if we give credit to it and the Epistle which bears the Name of *Ignatius*, to the *Philippians*, insomuch that this practice in after times was charged as a fault upon those of *Rome* by the Sixth Council of *Constantinople*, and *Photius* Patriarch of that See; yet in the Western Parts where there were fewer converted Jews (whose ordinary meeting on that day might give occasion to the Custome, as also a design to draw in those of their Nation) and where those Hereticks mentioned by *Irenæus*, who held themselves bound to Fast on the *Saturday*, because they fansied the Evil God who created the World had finished his work, and that day was the beginning of all evil; where these, I say, gave no occasion to cross their Folly and Superstition by a contrary Custome, it was destinate and appointed to a Publick Fast.

Ἐι τὴς χωειακὴ, ἡ σάῤῥατον νηστεύει πολλὰ ἤνθ σαῤῥάτε, ἔτθ χείστοχόνθ ὄζι.

L. 1. c. 20, &c.

84. Some have conceived the Custome thence taken, that St. *Peter* being on the Lord's Day to contest with *Simon Magus*, the Church of *Rome* set the preceding day a part for fasting and humiliation, to implore the Blessing of God upon a business of so great importance, which yet most of the *Romans* themselves did not believe. Others thought the difference of Customs proceeded from the different Apprehension and Sense which Christians had of Christ resting in the Sepulchre, whereupon the Eastern People in memory of his Rest would not make it a fasting day, whereas those of the Church of *Rome*, in sign and token of his humiliation chose to fast upon it. But the reason given by the Decretal of *Innocent*, seems more full and proper than any. Now when we speak of the West, we do not mean that all Western Churches followed herein the Church of *Rome*, for as they were inclined some observed one, some the other Custome. In many things it's clear, that the *British* Churches conformed themselves to the manners of the East, which it's evident also that *Milan* did in this particular. For *Paulinus* assures us in the Life of St. *Ambrose*, that he never used to dine but on the Day of the Sabbath, the Lord's day, and the Anniversaries of Saints and Martyrs, yet so as when he was at *Rome* he would not be singular, but conform himself to their Fashions and Customs. In *Africk* also we are informed by St. *Augustine*, that some Churches in the same Province dined, and some fasted on this day, and so continued the difference, those of the East fretting in vain against the Church of *Rome*, till after various strugling in several respects this Church got ground, and in this as other matters imposed her Customs as Laws upon the rest of the Western World. But, enough of this. *Platina* tells us farther, that he ordained certain Rules concerning *Jews*, Pagans and Monks, that by consent and approbation of *Theodosius*, he either banished the City or drove into Monasteries the *Cataphrygæ* Hereticks, of whom *Montanus*, *Priscilla* and *Maximilla* were Founders. And he dedicated a stately Church to *Gervase* and *Prothesius*, for which a certain Matron called *Vestina*, had left a great Summ of Money. Concerning the Furniture and Endowments of this Church, the Reader if he please may consult that Authour. *Innocent* after he had at four several times conferred Orders, and therein ordained 30 Presbyters, 12 Deacons, and 54 Bishops, died, and was buried in the burying place at the *Bear with the Cap* in *Rome*.

Which hath been otherwise observed in some parts of the West and all the Eastern Churches.

Theodosio annuente.

In Cœmeterio ad Ursum pileatum.

85. On the 29*th*. of *August* following, was *Zozimus* chosen to succeed him, the Son of *Abraham*, and a *Greek* by Birth. Upon this alteration in the See of *Rome*, *Pelagius*, and *Cœlestius* his Scholar bestir themselves, and make application to the new Bishop, whose aid and assistence they implore, as unreasonably condemned by the *African* Fathers, and those of *Diospolis*. *Pelagius* tells him their opinion onely was, that as Man always sinneth, so may not sin thereby, acknowledging him but to have Freedom of Will; and cunningly submits all to the opinion and censure of the Bishop, who hereupon admits his assertion, imbraces his Person as innocent, and receiving *Cœlestius* upon the same submissive appeal, writes to the Bishops of *Africk*, commending these Hereticks to them as Catholick Men, and accusing their Accusers as Calumniatours, and infamous Persons. The *African* Fathers having received his Letters, therein find fault with two things, first, that he had commended and approved an erroneous Sentence; secondly, that he had usurped Power of absolving them who had been condemned in *Africk*, and they had now the more cause to complain, by reason of another appeal made about this same time to him. One *Apiarius* a Priest of the Church of *Sicca*, very infamous upon several accounts, not onely by his own Bishop, but by other Prelates met together, upon this occasion was excommunicated. He betakes himself also to *Zozimus*, complaining he was much injured, who without hearing his Accusers, admits him to Communion, and understanding that the

Zozimus chosen Bishop of *Rome*.

He admits *Pelagius* and *Cœlestius* upon their appeal to him.

And also *Apiarius* sending his Legates with a pretended Canon to set forth his Title to such Appeals.

African

African Fathers were about to assemble in the sixth *Carthaginian* Synod (as it is called) he dispatcheth toward them *Faustinus* a Bishop, with *Philip* and *Asellus* two *Roman* Priests, to whom he giveth in Commission (the *Latin* word for it is *Commonitorium*) to plead the Cause of *Apiarius*, to procure *Urbanus* the Bishop of *Sicca* to be excommunicated, or to cite him to *Rome*, there to answer, except he would submit, and by all means to plead his own Right as Bishop of *Rome*, to receive Appeals from Bishops and Priests, censured either by their Bishops, Metropolitans or Synods, and to send his Legates into *Africk*, to take Cognizance of the Causes of such Appellants. As an Argument he commands them to urge a Canon of the *Nicene Council*, whereby this Privilege was granted to the *Roman* See.

86. The Legates pleading by Word of Mouth, the Cause for which they were sent; urged also the *Nicene Canon*, a Copy of which they pretended to produce. The Fathers perceiving whither the Matter drove, upon search protested there was no such Canon in their Archives to be found: What had been propounded concerning *Apiarius* and his Bishop, they were troubled to admit, declared plainly, they could not submit to any such Jurisdiction of the *Roman* See, till they saw better proof; and to search out the truth, were resolved to send to *Alexandria*, *Antioch* and *Constatinople* to inspect the most Authentick Records of that Council, desiring the Legates also, that they would either take the pains to go or send to those Places. In the mean time they were content, that Bishops might appeal to the *Roman* See, and the Causes of Clerks be determined by the Bishops of their Provinces, but no longer than till a search could be made into the *Nicene* Decrees. This they would doe for quietness sake, and write Letters to *Zozimus* himself, who dying e'er the return of the Legates, or shortly after (that we may join together for the better understanding, what was done under several Popes about this Affair) *Boniface* his Successour resolved to maintain the same cause, and sent the same Persons back to the *Carthaginian Council*. There followed much Dispute betwixt the Fathers and them; but to the same purpose, the Synod adhering to its former resolution, to give liberty of appeals, onely till they could receive a certain Information concerning the *Nicene Canons*; for procurement of which, they desire of *Boniface* by Letter, that he also would improve his Interest. But it seems both the Legates, and he that sent them, were Deaf on that Ear, and Conscious to themselves of the goodness of their Cause, they are suspected to have been so far from sending, that by their Procrastinations they hindred others from going into the East for some time, so that a Return of the Message was not made till the fourth year, wherein the Bishop of *Alexandria* sent to the *African* Bishops, the so much desired Copy of the Canons, together with notice, that the *Easter* following was to be kept on the 15 of *April*. These Canons are recited in the first Tome of the Councils, wherein is not to be found one Syllable concerning Appeals to the *Roman* See, or the Primacy of the *Roman* Bishop, over foreign Churches. The Fathers having perused them, procure them to be sent to *Boniface* for his satisfaction.

Which is admitted till such time as the truth did more fully appear.

Zozimus dies.

Boniface his Successour puts in the same Clame.

But is rejected there being not any such Canon ever made in the *Nicene* Council.

87. *Boniface* dying not long after, the Controversie was not buried with him, being revived by *Cœlestinus*, the following Bishop, upon the same occasion as it had begun. For *Apiarius* having betaken himself to the *Tabraceni*, was there again for his good deeds excommunicated, which not enduring, he betakes himself to his old Refuge, and appeals to *Cœlestinus*, who receiving him into Communion, sends once more the former Legates to expostulate with those of *Africk*, and require that what had been demanded by his Predecessours, as to the Privilege of the *Roman* See might be made good. They according to their Instructions, complaining that the Privileges of the *Roman* See were infringed, and the Decrees of *Nice* broken, had still the same answer as formerly, and after three days contention, the Bishops adhered to their former resolution agreeable to that of their Forefathers against the See of *Rome*, in the year 255, and what the Bishops of *Spain*, in the year 255 had resolved. At length *Apiarius* distrusting his Patronage, and conscious of his Guilt falls down on his Knees, confesses the Crimes laid against him, and begs Pardon of the Synod, which afterward decrees, that none hereafter in *Africk*, having Metropolitans of their own, appeal to the Bishop of *Rome*, the first Cognizance of the Cause remaining with the Bishops and Metropolitan, the second with a Provincial Council, and the final Resort to be to an universal one; and that for the time to come, no Right or Jurisdiction of the *Roman* See, over the *African* Churches be owned. Moreover they write to *Cœlestinus* himself Letters, wherein having given him an account of

He dying *Cœlestinus* revives it.

And receives the same Answer from the *African* Bishops.

of *Apiarius* and what he had confessed, they earnestly desire him, that for the time to come he would not easily admit any flying from them, nor receive any Person to Communion whom they had excommunicated. Forasmuch as he might easily perceive, that this was so defined by the *Nicene* Synod. They intreat he would reject all Priests and other Clerks which should flie from them, seeing that by Decree of no Council, there was any thing derogated from the Church of *Africk*, and the Decrees of *Nice* most manifestly leave as well inferiour Clerks as Bishops to their Metropolitans, most prudently and justly providing, that all business whatsoever should be determined in the Places where they rise, the Grace of the Holy Ghost not being wanting to any Province, which thing as equitable ought to be observed by the Priests of Christ with all Constancy imaginable, especially considering that any one may freely if he find himself agrieved, appeal either to the Synods of his own Province, or to a General Council.

Prudentissimè enim justissimèq; providerunt quæcunq; negotia, in suis locis ubi orta sunt, finienda: nec unicuiq; Provinciæ gratiam sancti Spiritus defuturam quæ æquitas à Christo sacerdotibus & prudenter videatur & constantissimè teneatur: maximè quin unicuique concessum est, si judicio offensus fuerit cognitorum, ad Concilia suæ Provinciæ, vel etiam universale provocare.

88. They * think this they write to be Reason, except there be some who believe, that God can inspire every particular Man with a Spirit of discerning, and deny the same to an innumerable Company of Priests gathered together in Council. They demand how a transmarine Judgment can be good, whether sufficient Witnesses, either by reason of their Sex, their Age or Infirmity, or many other intervenient Accidents cannot come? And ‖ as for him that should send any Legates, they did not find it was so ordained by any Synod. They tell him plainly, that the Canon he had sent them by *Faustinus* the Bishop, they could not find in the Authentick Copies of the *Nicene* Synod received from *Cyril* of *Alexandria* and *Atticus* of *Constantinople*, which they had heretofore transmitted to *Boniface* his Predecessour. They bid him send no more his Clerks called *Executores*, lest the smoaky pride of this World should be brought into the Church of Christ, which shews all that desire to see God, the light of Simplicity and Humility. And expecting that he would not send *Faustinus* any more into *Africk*, they take their leave of him with a Prayer for his long Life, and the kind appellation of *Domine Frater*. Thus do the *African* Fathers, reason and plead with *Cœlestinus*, with such fairness and Christian Lenity, that *Baronius* makes this, and that mild Course which St. *Augustine* takes to dissuade the Bishop of *Rome*, an Argument of their obnoxiousness to their Jurisdiction. By this Letter it self, let the indifferent Reader judge whether the Cardinal have any Reason to affirm, that they do not deny his Authority to receive Appeals, and that their words manifestly declare they onely are grieved with the manner of prosecution. Doth the Testimony they cite from the Council of *Nice*, I pray, respect the manner of the prosecution, or the business of Appeals themselves, and the concluding of Controversies? Doth their exception concerning the Holy Ghost's inspiration, concern the Method of Appeals, or the referring of Causes to Synods? We may without offence suppose that the Decrees of *Nice*, which they quote were not made concerning the manner of Appeals, but the very being of them; but it's in vain to contend with a Person resolved to say any thing.

* *Nisi forte quisquam est qui credat, unicuiliber, posse Deum nostrum examinis inspirare justitiam & innumerabilibus congregatis in concilium sacerdotibus denegare.*

‖ *Nam ut aliqui tanquam à tuæ sanctitatis latere mittantur, nulla invenimus Patrum Synodo constitutum.*
Vide Can. 101. *Concilii Africani.*

89. If the *African* Bishops intended not to derogate from the *Roman* Right to Appeals, as he would have them, why did they make such a Canon as we find to be the twenty second of the Synod of *Milenis*, and the ninety second of the Council of *Africk*, which *Gratian* also has taken into his Decree, ordaining that *Priests, Deacons, or others of the inferiour Clerks if they find themselves agrieved by the Judgements of their own Bishops in their Causes, might be heard by the neighbouring Bishops, who by consent of their own Prelates, being allotted them as Judges, might decide their Controversies. But if they thought fit to appeal, they should appeal to none except the African Councils, or the Primates of their Provinces. And if any thought fit to appeal to any beyond the Seas, he should be received to Communion by none in Africk.* The Gloss presently puts you in mind of *Gratian* his Restriction of this Canon, who indeed comes in afterward with his *Nisi forte*, Except they appeal to the *Roman* See, for proof of which he then produces the seventh

Caus. 2. *quæst.* 6. *c.* 35. *Placuit.*

seventh Canon of the *Sardican* Council, which giving leave to the Bishop of *Rome* to interpose his Authority, we have formerly mentioned. But let any Person reade the Letter of the Fathers to *Cœlestine*, and withall consider, that about this very time this Council of *Milenis* was held, as *Baronius* himself proves, and if he judge whether all circumstances considered, *Gratian's Nisi forte* be of any value, and whether the Bishops intended that the See of *Rome*, against whose Jurisdiction they had so strugled, should be excepted. As for the Canon of the Synod of *Sardica*, the Cardinal to vindicate his Popes from forgery (of which some Innovatours, as he calls the Centuriatours, do accuse them) thinks it mistaken by them for some other of *Nice*, or some one of *Nice* put amongst those of *Sardica*, or because the Synod of *Sardica* was held to confirm the Council of *Nice*, it was accounted, as it were, the same with it, nay in some respects prefers it before that of *Nice*; for as it was equal with it in being Oecumenical, so there was in it thirty five Bishops, together with *Gratus* Bishop of *Carthage*, whereas in the *Nice* Council no more *African* Fathers are found than onely one *Cæcilianus*, whereupon he concludes that the *African* Bishops could not without breach of the Catholick Peace reject the Canon of the Synod of *Sardica*.

90. But if this be not plain shuffling, let any indifferent Person tell what is. Perhaps and perhaps the Cardinal may say now; but surely he could not think that in all these Debates and Pleadings *pro* and *con*, if they had meant this or that, found the thing here or there, upon denyal that there was any such matter as the *Nicene* Canon, it would not have been mentioned, instanced, and thereupon Issue have been joyned. But, to see how *Baronius* takes and refuseth, accepts and rejects, imbraces and scorns every thing, any thing, the same thing, as they make for or against his great Design, let but the Reader consider what he writes of that Council of *Sardica*, how he confesseth that by reason of the contrary manner of proceeding in that Council, the Resolutions and Acts thereof have been variously reported and accepted of in later times, that many things are cited as decreed by the *Sardican* Council contrary to the testimonies of *Athanasius*; and that St. *Augustine* and others granting several Decrees to have been made by this Synod, yet excepting against it as Heretical and Arian: in conclusion, so great was the uncertainty and confusion, in those times themselves, amongst such as had best reason to know, in relation to this Synod, that the Cardinal writing of it is thereupon seized with admiration. Now it's not onely an Oecumenical Synod, but such an one as though all Orthodox Christians in the best times were shie of receiving its Decrees, yet the *Africans* must under pein of Schism submit themselves to its Canons and Decrees. But what if there were no such Canons made by this Synod; what if neither that of *Sardica* nor any other Council ever ordained any such matter about the *Roman* Jurisdiction, and Appeals to that See, from the time of Christ, to that of this Controversie? By the decision of that Question before an impartial unprejudiced Judge we are content to abide, and our Witnesses are those *African* Fathers, who if any such thing had been, they had certainly better reason to know than any of these last Ages, hear therefore their Testimony. The seventh pretended Canon of the Council of *Sardica* ordains, that in case of Appeal the Bishop of *Rome* may send *à Latere* his Legate or Legates to hear, and by his authority to determine with other Bishops the matter in Controversie; but the Bishops of *Africk* in their Letter to *Cœlestine* say in so many words, *Ut aliqui tanquam à tuæ sanctitatis Latere mittantur nulla invenimus Patrum Synodo constitutum*: *viz.* that any may be sent as *à Latere* from your Holiness we do not find ordained in any Synod of the Fathers. They were in the words immediately preceding speaking of the inconvenience of Transmarine Judgments. But one might object though it be so inconvenient for Persons to go over Sea, yet the Bishop of *Rome* may send his Legates to them, to Answer which Question or rather prevent it, they come in with a *Nam ut aliqui, &c.* as in the foregoing words, and then protest in particular against that pretended *Nicene* Canon. This is sufficient to discover aswell the truth it self as the Cardinal's shuffling, without this reserve, that had there been any such Decree of *Nice* or of *Sardica*, it speaks not as owning any such Authority in the *Roman* See as formerly invested in it upon any account whatsoever, but for convenience of Tryals *de novo* this forged Canon erects a Tribunal for the *Roman* Prelate.

Who declare that the Pope hath no power given by any Synod of the Fathers to receive Appeals from or send his Legates into any part of *Africk*.

91. But *Zozimus*, that we may return and take the rest along with us, died after he had sate in the *Roman* See a year, four months and seven days, and was buried in the *via Tiburtina*, by the Body of St. *Laurence*. Of this Bishop two Decretal

cretal Epistles are extant, one to *Isychius* Bishop of *Salonæ*, and another to the Clergy of *Ravenna*. He forbad slaves to be made Clerks, and amongst some other trifles made this Decree. *Against the Ordinances of the Fathers, the Authority of this very See cannot make or change any thing. For with us Antiquity flourisheth firmly rooted, to which the Decrees of the Fathers have procured reverence.* If this be true, and the ordinances of the Council of *Nice* quite spoil the Pope of his so large pretended Jurisdiction. Two or three days after his Death two were chosen in his room, *Eulalius* the Archdeacon, and *Boniface* a Priest. *Symmachus* being at this time Prefect of the City, gave notice of the Schism to *Honorius* the Emperour, to whom he also signified that *Eulalius* was most legally chosen, and was the true and rightfull Bishop of *Rome*. But *Boniface* his Friends pleaded for him on the other side, and Letters were so multiplied, that *Honorius* thought fit to summon them both to *Ravenna* on the fifteenth of *January*, whereas *Zozimus* died on the twenty sixth of *December*. The Emperour caused also many Bishops to meet together for decision of the Controversie, but such factions, heats and contests appeared, that it was impossible to reconcile the difference, whereupon *Honorius* commanded them both to forbear the City. Yet notwithstanding *Eulalius* attempted to celebrate the Feast of *Easter* (which this year fell upon the thirtieth of *March*) and raised such a Sedition that scarcely could be expelled by *Symmachus* the Prefect, whose Person had been brought into extreme danger. *Symmachus* sending a Relation of these things to the Emperour, he writes back to him to bring *Boniface* into the City, and there establish him in the Chair as the true and undoubted *Roman* Bishop, *Eulalius* being sentenced uncapable of the Office by the Emperour and a Synod on the seventh of *April*.

Contra Statuta Patrum condere aliquid, nec huius quidem sedis Romanæ potest authoritas, apud nos enim reconvulsis radicibus vivit antiquitas, cui Decreta Patrum sanxere reverentiam. Tom. 1. Conc. causa 25. q. 1. c. 7.

Upon the death of *Zozimus* a dispute arose 'twixt *Eulalius* and *Boniface* for the See.

Which is decided on behalf of *Boniface* by the Emperour's order.

92. This same year being the four hundred and nineteenth of our Saviour, many Cities and Towns of *Palestine* are said to have been overthrown by Earthquakes, and he himself to have appeared over Mount *Olivet* near to *Jerusalem* in a Cloud, upon sight and hearing whereof, many Pagan Nations were converted to the Truth. This year also *Crysantius* the Novatian Bishop died at *Constantinople*, after he had governed such Congregations as were subject to his discipline seven years, to whom *Paul* succeeded, of whom *Socrates* relates such an Act as he thinks worthy to be Ingraved in Marble, and to remain to all Posterity; the thing was this: A certain *Jew* feigning a desire to become a Christian, was often Baptized, and by that means got much Money. After he had couzened several Sects as the *Arians* and *Macedonians*, he comes to *Paul*, from whose Hands he beseeches him he may receive the Holy Sacrament of Baptism, who granteth his request on these conditions, that he learned the Articles of Faith, and gave himself to Fasting for many days. The *Jew* being constrained to Fast, called every day for Baptism, and *Paul* moved by his importunity, made all things ready for it, providing him a white Vestment, and causing the Font to be filled with Water. But when the *Jew* approached, all the Water by a secret operation was suddenly dried up; at which amazed, they yet thought it might possibly run through the hole at the bottom of the Font through which they were wont to let it goe, and therefore stopped all the holes and chinks, and poured in fresh Water: yet when the *Jew* was brought the second time, and hanged his Head over the Font, the Water again vanished every drop, which *Paul* the Bishop beholding, told the Man that he horribly dissembled, or had been unwittingly Baptized; but when upon the noise of the Miracle many flocked unto the place, one among the rest happened to know the *Jew*, and so the truth came to light.

Marcellinus in Chron.

Lib. 7. c. 17.

A Persecution against the Christians in *Persia*.

93. At this time a great Persecution raged in *Persia* against the Christians of that Countrey: the occasion this. *Arcadius* the Emperour before his Death made *Isdegerdes* the *Persian* King, Tutour or Guardian to his Son *Theodosius*, which business caused many Embassies to be made to and fro, wherein on the *Roman* part amongst others was *Maruthas* a Bishop of *Mesopotamia* employed, by whose Piety and Industry the Villanies and Impostures of the *Magi* being discovered, Christian Religion was much propagated, and the King almost perswaded to become a Christian. But after his death the Friendship betwixt the *Romans* and that Crown was broken, and a great Persecution ensued under his Son, as *Socrates* writes, others say it began under *Isdegerdes* himself, and *Vararanes*, *Bararanes* or *Gorarannes* his Son continued it; under whomsoever it began, the imprudent Zeal of *Audas* a Bishop in *Persia* first kindled the flame which devoured so many Martyrs. He caused to be demolished the *Pyræum* or Temple dedicated to Fire, which as their God was held in great reverence by that Nation, and refused to repair it though commanded by the King, who putting him to Death, gave order that

Socr. l. 7. cc. 8. & 18. & 20. Theod. l. 5. c. 38. Diaconus Niceph. l. 14. c. 48.

that the Churches of Christians should be demolished, and then most cruelly raged for several years against the Professours of the true Religion. Many are the kinds of Torments which the Faithfull underwent in this fiery tryal. Of some they flay'd the Hands, others the Backs; from others they pulled the skin over their Ears down to their Shoulders. Some thus devested of their natural Covering they tormented by sharp Reeds stuck into their flesh. Many they shut up in pits, and put therein Rats and Mice to devour them alive, having bound them so as they could neither with their Hands or Feet defend themselves. Notwithstanding all that Devils and the *Magi* their Instruments could invent, yet were the Faithfull so far from being terrified, that as in the most Primitive times, they rather offered themselves and ran to meet the Crown of Martyrdom. Of these *Hormisda* and *Saene* were eminent Courtiers, together with *James*, who by the King's perswasion first renounced his Religion, but was again reduced by his Wife and Mother, and stoutly confessing his Faith in his Saviour, had by the angry King's order all his Limbs cut from his Body, of which the Trunk and Head onely remaining; when by these Torments he could not be forced to renounce his Religion, this was at last smitten off with a Sword.

94. *Marcellinus* in his Chronicon fixeth the beginning of this Persecution in the ninth Consulship of *Theodosius Augustus*, and the third of *Constantius Cæsar*, which *Socrates* will have continued for two years till the thirteenth of *Honorius* and the tenth of *Theodosius*, but *Theodoret* prolongeth to no less than thirty. At length certain Christians escaping out of *Persia*, related to the *Romans* the miserable and afflicted estate of the Churches, and imploring their aid and assistence; *Theodosius* very readily closed with their Request, and when the *Persian* demanded his Fugitives, answer was made, that he was resolved to try the utmost rather than suffer his Christian Brethren to be so cruelly intreated. The *Persians* taking this in evil part seize as many *Romans* as they can, whom they condemn to the Mines, and on the Goods of Merchants contrary to all former Treaties. *Theodosius* therefore sends his Forces to invade them, who hired a vast number of *Saracens* to assist them; but the *Saracens* seized with a Pannick fear slew one another and fled, and the *Persians* being overthrown in several Engagements, those Select Troops, called *Immortal*, miserably perished. *Theodosius* though he had good advantage, and might have prosecuted the Victory, yet for the sake of the Churches made Peace, and the Persecution ceased. To the Story of this War belongs a President of Christian Charity related by *Socrates*, which must not be passed over in silence. The *Romans* having taken Prisoners above seven thousand *Persians*, refused to release them, and had so little care of their subsistence, that they were ready to starve with Hunger; which *Acacius* Bishop of *Amida* considering, called together his Clergy and told them, that God stood not in need of either Cups or Dishes, that therefore forasmuch as their Church had many Utensils of Gold and Silver bestowed on her by Religious and Pious Benefactours, he thought it requisite the Captive Souldiers should therewith be redeemed, and rescued from the misery of Captivity and Hunger. Having said thus much, he caused the Plate to be stamped into Money, whereof one part he sent as a Ransome, a second to relieve the Necessities of the Prisoners, and a third to bear their Charges into their own Countrey. The *Persian* King was exceedingly struck with admiration at so Noble an act, perceiving that the Christians knew how to overcome him with Engines of mercy and goodness, aswell as those of Hostility, and desired to see so excellent a Person, which by the Interposition of *Theodosius* he obtained. And it is not to be doubted but by this Christian Office many *Persians* were perswaded to imbrace the Christian Religion, as also by the Journey of *Acacius*, who having fed them with the Bread which perisheth, no doubt would use all means to make them Partakers of that which endureth to Eternal Life; and as a Reward of his Piety and the Gift of true Wisedom, obtained long Life, (for he survived to a great Age) and also (true) Riches and Honour.

Which is stopt by the interposition of *Theodosius*.

Socr. lib. 7. c. 21. Niceph. l. 14. c. 22.

And the Charity of *Acacius* Bishop of *Amida*.

95. At the same time that this Persecution began to rage in *Persia*, *viz.* the CCCCXX year of our Lord, that great and famous Light of the Church St. *Hierome* departed this Life at *Bethlehem* on the last day of *September*, and was there buried. Concerning his Age, which certainly was great, there is no small difference amongst Writers; some will have him to live ninety eight years, *Prosper* ninety one, but *Baronius* more probably no more than seventy eight. For Learning he rather excelled than equalled any one Father. The Books he wrote were very numerous yet not all extant as appears in several mentioned

St. *Hierome* dies.

Marcell.

by (a) *Cassiodorus*, (b) St. *Augustine* and (c) himself. To those that are extant many Supposititious have been added, which have been detected by *Marianus Victorius*, *Erasmus*, *Sixtus Senensis* and others. And as many have been feigned as written by him, so others as to him, amongst which are notorious those from him to *Chromatius* and *Heliodorus*, and from them to him. His Epistle to these two Bishops concerning the Nativity of our Saviour, hath been often branded in the *Roman* Schools, as by *Melchior Canus*, *Molanus* and *Sixtus Senensis*, who affirmeth it a Fiction of the *Valentinian* and *Gnostick* Hereticks; yet *Christophorus à Castro* a *Spanish* Jesuite in his *Deiparæ Historia*, undertakes the protection and defence of that impious Imposture. And both from this and the *Protoevangelium Jacobi* (which as *Bellarmine* confesseth, was never received and acknowledged in the Church, and is rejected and condemned by *à Castro* himself) both Lying Fabulous Legends, wherein is much stuff to be found concerning the Blessed Virgin and her Parents, *Damascene*, *Germanus*, *Nicephorus*, *Sergius* of *Heliopolis*, *Andreas Hierosolymitanus*, *Hippolytus* with other *Homilians* and *Rhapsodists*, have borrowed Materials with very poor judgment and discretion, and therewith imbellished their Legends, Histories, Homilies and Panegyrical Harangues. And after them (saith our Bishop *Mountague*) *Baronius* comes in the Rere, who more than once lays his Judgment at Stake upon the Relation of such forged Fopperies, which he takes up by Retail upon their Word and Credit, without examining what authority they had to relate them.

(a) *Just. diu lect. cc. 2. 3, &c.*
(b) *De hæres. ad Quodvultdeum.*
(c) *Contr. Jovin. l. 2.*

His Works.

96. But, amongst all the Works of St. *Hierome*, he deserved more of the Church by none than his Translations of the Holy Scriptures. For though they were translated into the Languages of (a) many Nations, yet the Fountains of these Translations had not been too pure, and so various, aswell as corrupt, were those in the Latine Tongue especially, that they could hardly be (b) numbred, all being taken from the Greek Interpreters, not the Hebrew Text. The first Translation of this Text, as is known almost to every Man, was that of the LXXII through procurement of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, called in the round Number the *Septuagint*, being in such esteem in the Christian Church, that (c) *Epiphanius* holds them for no less than Prophets, and (d) *Justinian* the Emperour enjoyning the *Jews* his Subjects to use especially the Translation of the Seventy, gives this reason, that this number of Interpreters was as it were enlightened with Divine Grace. Yet as men they sometimes stumbled, in some places adding, and in others taking away, which made the Apostles leave them often when they left the Hebrew, and to deliver the sense thereof according to the truth as the Spirit directed them. In conclusion, this Translation not contenting, no not those of the *Jews*, *Aquila* a Proselyte fell in hand with a new Translation in the time of *Adrian* the Emperour. After him *Symmachus* a *Samaritan* an *Ebionite* made a third attempt. *Theodotion* an *Ephesian* and a *Marcionite* a fourth under *Commodus*. A fifth Edition was made by an uncertain Translatour found in the seventh year of *Antoninus Caracalla* in *Jericho*, hidden in a Tub together with other Hebrew and Greek Books. A sixth was also made by an uncertain hand, and found as the former in Barrels at *Nicopolis* in the East, or the *Actiacan* Shoar in the Reign of *Alexander Severus*. These Translations coming into the hands of *Origen*, he took care that the Bible should be written out in this manner. To the Hebrew Text placed in one Column he adjoined another Column of Hebrew but written in Greek Letters and Characters, that it might be read by *Grecians*; to these two Columns he added four other, *viz.* those of *Aquila*, the *Septuagint*, *Symmachus* and *Theodotion*, placing that of the *Septuagint* in the middle, as *Epiphanius* thinks for its excellency, and called this Edition the *Hexapla*; to which afterwards adding the fifth and sixth anonymous Translations formerly mentioned, he called the second Edition the *Octapla*. Now from all these bad Greek, many Translations had also been made in Latine, as we said before, and so bad that it provoked *Hierome* to make a new one. For as the *Septuagint* it self was imperfect, the rest could not be exceedingly good, *Aquila*, *Symmachus* and *Theodotion* being Judaizing Hereticks, as he * termeth them, in particular *Aquila*, whose Translation was the best, and is onely allowed by *Justinian* to the *Jews* next after the *Septuagint*, of a *Greek* first became a Christian, then giving himself more than was meet to curious Questions of Astronomy, being

In particular his Translation of the Holy Scriptures.

(a) *Multarum gentium linguis Scriptura ante translata docet falsa esse quæ addita sunt, &c. Hieronym. præf. in 4 Evang.*

(b) *Latini Interpretes nullo modo numerari possunt. Aug.*

(c) *Vide eund. de ponderibus & mensuris.*

(d) *Sacrorum librorum traditionem fecerunt tanquam prophetia gratia circumfulgente, ex Novel. 46. cap. 1. ad quam vide quæ notantur per Interpr.*

Vide Epiphan. dicto loco.

* *Præf. in lib. Job.*

being cast out by the Church he betook himself to the *Jews*, and that he might endamage the cause of Christians endeavoured to corrupt the Translation of the Seventy, and such places of Scripture as bear manifest Testimony unto Christ. Therefore St. *Hierome* set upon the Work and made a Translation out of the Fountains. For as he himself † affirmeth to *Lucinius Bæticus* and *Gratian* from him in his Decree, as the credit of the old Books (of the Old Testament) is to be tried by the Hebrew Volumes; so those of the New by the Greek Tongue. Of the Vulgar and other Latine Translations we shall speak in due time and place.

* *Ut veterum librorum fides de Hebræis voluminibus examinanda est, ita novorum Græci sermonis normam desiderat. Dist. 9. c. 6. Ut veterum & Hieron. ad Lucinium Bæticum. Ep. 28.*

97. The following year which was the 421 of our Lord, in the Consulship of *Eustathius* and *Agricola*, an Edict was published by *Theodosius* the Emperour directed to *Philip* the *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Illyricum*, for *removing of Innovations, observance and vigorous Execution of the Ancient Ecclesiastical Canons through all the Provinces of that Country; that if any doubtfull matter arose it should be determined in a Synod not without the Cognisance of the most Reverend Bishop of* Constantinople, *which City enjoyed the Prerogative of old* Rome. *Baronius* the Champion of *old Rome* mightily quarrels with this Law, as publishing false Doctrine through the suggestion of *Atticus* the Bishop of the *New*, who for the advancement of his See feigned Canons so Ancient that indeed they never had any beginning. He not onely questions the being of such Canons, but denies also that by any other Authority than that of the Secular Prince, by Decrees of any Council, the City of *Constantinople* enjoyed the prerogative of *old Rome* in matters Ecclesiastical. As to the business of *Illyricum*, he both affirms this See never to have had any Jurisdiction over it before this time, nor for many years after enjoyed any. But if *Atticus* his concern for his own See so far Transported him as to impose upon the credulity of the Emperour, the Cardinal's zeal for that of *Rome*, sometimes also bribes his Understanding to cast Mists before the Eyes of his Incautelous Readers, which he may doe at a cheaper rate than *Atticus* surely could in Matters of such Consequence abuse his Prince. Had any such Canons been made for the Interest of the *Roman* Church, he would have told us that such they were, but they are lost, for the Council of *Nice* doubtless made more than those twenty which are commonly ascribed to it; that the Canon of *Sardica* cannot be found, which, doubtless, once had a being, because several Popes did not fear to cite it to the *African* Fathers in behalf of their Right to receive Appeals; that an Edict of the Emperours was a thing more solemn than to be founded upon light Surmises, Lyes, and Falshood; that many things were which do not at this distance appear to us; that if no credit be to be given to Authentick Laws, there is no heed to be taken of any publick Monuments; in conclusion, that *Atticus* never would have dared to broach such a thing which he knew could not be concealed, but coming to the Ears must needs open the Mouths of his Æmulatours, especially those in *Italy*.

An Edict of the Emperour *Theodosius*, declaring the Prerogative of *Constantinople*.

Omni innovatione cessante vetustatem & canones pristinos Ecclesiasticos qui usq; nunc tenuerunt, etiam per omnes Illyrici Provincias servari præcipimus: ut siquid dubietatis emerserit, id oporteat (non absq; scientia viri Reverendissimi sacrosanctæ Legis Antistitis Ecclesiæ urbis Constantinopolitanæ quæ Romæ veteris prærogativa lætatur) conventui sacerdotali sanctóque Judicio reservari. D. Prid. Id. Jul. Eustathio & Agricola Coss.

Cod. Justin. lib. 1. Tit. 2. §. 6. de Sacrosanctis Ecclesiis, & C.Th. Episcopis & Clericis, l. 46.

98. Whether the Cardinal tell true, when he writes, that the City of *Constantinople* at this time did not enjoy any Prerogative of *Old Rome* by virtue of the Canons of any Synod, let the Reader judge by what we have said at the beginning of this Chapter concerning the *Constantinopolitan Council*. As great heed is to be taken of what Reflexions he makes upon a business which happened the year following. *Patroclus* a certain Bishop by the favour and assistence of *Constantinus* the *Magister Militum*, with whom he was very familiar, having displaced *Herotes* a good man and Disciple of St. *Martin*, had thrust himself into the See of *Arles*, and not therewith content had invaded the Rights of another Metropolis, ordaining a Bishop in the Province of *Narbone*. *Boniface* the Bishop of *Rome* not onely repressed this Insolency, but by Letters dated on the 28 of *January* to *Hilary* Bishop of *Narbone*, commands him to use the Right of Metropolitan, to consider what was to be done, and make Report thereof to the Apostolick See, ordaining that every Metropolitan should content himself with the Exercise of Jurisdiction within his own Precincts, and not thrust his Sickle into the Corn of another man. Thus the good Mother desires that her Daughter may be more wise and vertuous than her self, and the Dissolute Preacher cries, *Doe as I say,*

Patroclus thrusts himself into the See of *Arles*. And ordains a Bishop in the Province of *Narbone*.

Prosp. in Chron. Bonif. Ep. 2.

Which is taken notice of by *Boniface* who preaches contrary to his own Practice.

say, but doe not as I doe. He writes this at the same time as he endeavoured by all means to intrude into the Affairs of *Africk*, and challenged the Privilege of Appeals upon pretence of a *Nicene* Canon, which the Bishops rejecting as forged, had sent to *Alexandria* for authentick Copies, which this same year were sent by the Patriarch of that See. As for what he ordains about the Metropolitan he tells him, he acts according to the Prescript of the *Nicene* Canons, the sixth indeed of that Council taking care of the Jurisdiction of the Metropolitans. Whence *Baronius* will perswade his Reader, that he most manifestly sees that the *Nicene* Council so took order for having the several Provinces subject to Metropolitans, that yet the Apostolical See as he calls it, should *Jus dicere* or exercise Jurisdiction over all. Certainly his Reader cannot but see most manifestly that this is a mighty Consequence, let him shew where any *yet soe*, any such *proviso* or *salvo* is made by any true Canon of that Council. He will find it perhaps written on the back side of that other Canon concerning his Popes Jurisdiction over the *African* Churches. It is certainly a course so weak as any one may most manifestly discern it, to argue from pretence to true Title, from intrusion to rightfull and just possession; which would have notably served the design of *Patroclus*. It seems because *Boniface* and his Fellows thrust their Sickles into the Corn of the *Africans* and *Galls*, therefore they had a Right to reap their Harvest, and in truth the one aswell as the other by permission (nay Ordination of the *Nicene* Canons.

99. The ensuing year *Theodosius* the Emperour set forth several Edicts against *Hereticks*, *Jews* and *Pagans*, yet to be seen in his own Code. As to the latter *Theodoret* tells us, that he commanded all footsteps of their Superstition to be removed, that nothing might remain to the observation of future times, and indeed two years after by a Rescript he forbad all Pagan Worship upon pain of Death, commanding all their Temples, Chapels and Oratories, if any remained, to be demolished and expiated, by placing there the sign of Christian Religion; which Edicts had not the wished effects, as appears from others published long after by *Martianus* and *Valentinian*, *Leo* and *Anthemius*, to be mentioned in their proper places. This same year which was the last of *Honorius* the Emperour, died *Boniface* Bishop of *Rome* on the 25*th* of *October*, after he had governed five years all but two Months and three Days, and was buried in the *Via Salaria* near the Body of St. *Felicity* the Martyr. *Platina* tells us of great matters ordained by him: *viz.* That a Woman or Nun should not touch the Sacred *Palla* or Surplice, nor the Frankincense: That no Slave or Indebted Person should be received into the Clergy. He built an Oratory in the *Cœmetery* of St. *Felicity*, and adorned her Sepulchre with Marble, gave a Silver Platter of twenty Pounds, a great Cup to the value of ten, three Silver Crowns, and of the lesser sort of Chalices two. Under his Name are extant three Epistles, One to the Emperour *Honorius*, wherein having mightily applauded the Vertues of that Prince, he prays him to preserve the Peace of the Church of *Rome* against ambitious and factious Persons; to which the Emperour answered, that his pleasure was, and hereby declared it to be, that if in a Schism two chanced to be elected, neither of them should hold, but a third Person freely and Legitimately chosen. His second is directed against one *Maximus* a Bishop and a *Manichee*, accused of Impiety, Murther and Contumacy, against whom he orders the Bishops of *Gall* to proceed, whether he appeared or not; concluding, that whatsoever they resolved was necessarily to be confirmed by his Authority, so cunningly ambitious were the *Roman* Prelates at this time, that if any Church out of respect to the Dignity of their See or Ability of their Persons asked them any advice, they would presently pretend to Jurisdiction, this being their slight wherewith at first they began to lay the Yoke upon the Provinces. His this third Epistle he wrote to *Hilary* Bishop of *Narbone*, about the business whereof we have already spoken. Besides these in his Letters, the first Tome of the Councils mentions five other Constitutions. " 1. That none should be ordained Priest before " he had completed thirty years of Age, how worthy soever, because Christ be- " gan not to Preach untill that time. 2. Differences arising amongst Bishops " should be decided by the Metropolitan, and if they would not submit to his " Award, the Primate should determine the Controversie without Appeal. " 3. Whatever had been Consecrated to God be it Man or Beast or any other " thing, should remain in the power of Priests, the Offender against this Decree " to be Excommunicated as Sacrilegious. 4. Bishops, Priests, and the like Per- " sons, disagreeing amongst themselves, should be Excommunicated till Repen- " tance,

L. 5. c. 36. C. Th. de Episc. & Cleric. de Judeis de Paganis.

C. Th. de Paganis. l. ult.

Boniface Bishop of *Rome* dies.

In vita Bonifacii primi.

Tom. 1. Concil.

His Works.

" tance, and not restored till they had spent as much more time in Penance as " they had done in Quarrelling. The *5th* requires, That a Bishop removed from " his Bishoprick daring either to return or depart from the place to which " he had been confined, should be thrust into a Monastery in some other " Province.

100. In the time of this *Boniface* begun the Seventh Council of *Carthage*, as it is called, or the *African Council*, which it seems continued a long time, the Prelates going and coming as there was occasion. But these *Carthaginian Councils* are strangely confounded one with another, and probably the sixth and seventh were the same. After the death of *Boniface* the *Roman* See was vacant nine days exclusively, and then was chosen and ordained *Cœlestinus* a *Campanian* by Birth on the fourth of *November* the first *Feria*, being the forty fifth Bishop of *Rome* according to *Platina*, the forty first after the account of *Prosper*, and the forty third in the Opinion of *Marianus*, so great certainty is there of this Succession so much talked of. Two years after on the tenth of *October* in the eleventh Consulship of *Theodosius* and the first of *Valentinian* the third, *Anno Dom.* CCCCXXV. died *Atticus* Bishop of *Constantinople*, after he had held that Chair nineteen years and seven months wanting three days. He is commended as a Wise and Religious Governour, extolled for his Bounty to the Poor, wherein he had onely respect to want not to any Party, but chiefly regarded such as were ashamed to beg. Understanding that certain *Novatians* who differed from the rest in the keeping of *Easter*, had translated the Corpse of *Sabbatius* out of the Isle of *Rhodes*, buried it solemnly, and prayed upon his Tomb, he procured in the Night the Body to be removed to another place, which being done they ceased to pay any more honour to his Sepulchre. He was lucky in assigning Names to several things. The *Rode* in the Mouth of the Euxine Sea, formerly called *Poyson*, he named *Medicine*. *Chrysopyle*, being a Rode at the head of the *Bosphorus* mentioned by *Strabo*, *Nicolaus*, *Damascenus* and *Xenophon*, and assigned for payment of Tribute, in imitation of it he gave to a part of the Suburbs of *Constantinople* the Name of *Argyropyle*. *Socrates* magnifies the good opinion he had of *Novatus*, and his kindness to that Sect. He reduced into Communion the *Johannites* or Followers of *Chrysostome*, by receiving his Name into the *Dyptica*, and commanding his Memory to be celebrated at the time of Divine Service, as the manner was of other Holy Bishops deceased. Notwithstanding what *Socrates* writes of his favouring the *Novatians*, he is commended by St. *Augustine* and *Prosper* for his Orthodox Doctrine.

Cœlestinus succeeds him.

Atticus Bishop of *Constantinople* dies.

Vide ejus Epist. ad Calliopium Episc. Niceæ apud Socr. l. 7. c. 25.

Aug. contra Jul. l. 1. Prosp. de Ingratis.

101. After his death there was much stir made about the Election of another Bishop, some being inclined towards *Philip*, others towards *Proclus*, both Priests of that Church, but the generality much desiring the promotion of *Sisinius* a Priest of *Elæa* a Church in the Suburbs over against the City, where the Citizens were wont to celebrate the Feast of our Saviour's Ascension. At length the consideration of his Piety and Charity towards the Poor prevailed, and the Laity getting the upper hand he was consecrated on the twenty eighth of *February* in the twelfth Consulship of *Theodosius*, and the second of *Valentinian*, which *Philip* his Competitour stomaching exceedingly inveyed bitterly against it in an impertinent and confused Work he wrote against *Julian* the Emperour, called *The Christian History*. *Proclus* the other Competitour upon the death of the Bishop of *Cyzicum*, was appointed by *Sisinius* to succeed him, but the People hearing of his coming elected one *Dalmatius* a Religious man to govern the Bishoprick, neglecting (saith *Socrates*) the Law and Canon which commandeth that no Bishop be appointed and ordained without the consent and authority of the Bishop of *Constantinople*. They made no account of that Canon, because it commanded, as they thought, that the said Authority should be given to *Atticus* alone. That such a Canon there was the Historian confesseth, who lived about this time; but the People the Laity it seems, which as appears in the story of *Sisinius*, was most prevalent in those Elections, having little skill in the Canons of the Church applied it ignorantly to *Atticus* alone. Now whether any thing here concludeth, that the Bishops of *Constantinople* pretended not to their Jurisdiction from any Canon of an Oecumenical Council, let the Reader judge, for *Baronius* would gladly have him so reason. Because the People surmized that such a Canon onely belonged to *Atticus*, he is ready to swear it, though had the Honour of *Rome* been concerned, the People and Laity must have been scorned and derided, as no Competent Judges in such a case. If it was made for *Atticus* alone he it seems was not ambitious of such a Privilege, old Canons being by the Emperour alledged,

Sisinius succeeds him, who appoints *Proclus* to the See of *Cyzicum*, but is opposed by the Laity who elect *Dalmatius*.

Prosp. de Ingratis. Socr. l. 7. cc. 26, 27, 28.

alledged, and as the Cardinal surmizeth at his Suggestion, for his Authority over *Illyricum*. And if we have more reason to believe solemn Laws, than hearken unto the Prejudicate Opinions, as certainly we have, and consider what Jurisdiction was exercised by *Chrysostome* over the Bishops of *Asia*, we shall not doubt to extend it to *Cyzicum* and the other Cities of the *Hellespont*.

St. *Augustine* chuseth *Eradius* as his Coadjutor.

102. This same year St. *Augustine* being in the seventy second year of his Age, on the twenty sixth of *September* the first *Feria*, in the presence of his Clergy and People thereto consenting, chose *Eradius* one of his Priests, his Coadjutour in the Episcopal Function, and designed him his Successour. And now, turning over the Books he had written, this year and the next he wrote his Retractations, besides these, at the request of divers, he undertook pieces of several Subjects, as about the Predestination of the Saints, the Good of Perseverance, and others, neither had he yet fully completed his Books *de Civitate Dei*, which the year following were brought to a period after sixteen years, being begun in the year 410. On the twenty fourth of *December* of the said following year *A. D.* 427. died *Sisinius* Bishop of *Constantinople*, a man of simple Sanctity and holy Simplicity, as *Marcellinus* calls him, after he had scarcely been Bishop two years, after whose decease it seemed good to the Emperour, because of the ambition of certain Persons to chuse none of that Church (though many put in for *Philip*, and not a few for *Proclus*) but determined with himself to send for a Stranger from *Antioch*. And who should this prove but *Nestorius*, a Man too well known afterward, born at or near *Germanicia* a Town of *Syria*, whence coming to *Antioch* he applied himself to study, but never had any bottom nor laid any solid foundation, contenting himself with superficial endeavours, and never applying himself to the ancient Fathers. But for his voluble Tongue and grave Demeanour he came in credit with the People, and his Name being up at Court, had the hap to be promoted to this high Dignity. Immediately after his Instalment, the Solemnity whereof was performed on the tenth day of *April*, and the Consulship of *Fœlix* and *Taurus*, *A. D.* CCCCXXVIII. In the hearing of all the People he used such words as these to the Emperour: *Give me the Earth purged of Hereticks, and I will repay thee with Heaven in lieu thereof: Assist me in foiling the Hereticks, and I will aid thee in subduing thine Enemies.* Though this pleased some Orthodox Persons, yet others soon made a judgment of what he would speedily prove. The *Arians* he persecuted with too great violence, and the *Novatians* evil intreated, if we credit *Socrates*, for no other reason than because *Paul* their Bishop was in great repute for his Zeal and Piety. He much vexed and disquieted such as celebrated the Feast of *Easter* on the fourteenth Moon throughout *Asia*, *Lydia* and *Caria*. The great Zeal he pretended for the Orthodox Faith and suppressing of Hereticks was but to colour and sweeten those pernicious Doctrines which he himself intended shortly to broach.

Ep. 110. 7. 2. & *Possid. in vita.*

Ut patet ex l. 18. *c.* 28.

Sisinius of *Constantinople* dies.

Socr. lib. 7. *cc.* 28, 29.

Nestorius succeeds him.

103. About this time *Germanus* Bishop of *Auxerre* in *Gall* (*Episcopus Antisiodorensis*, or *Altisiodorensis* in Latin) a Diocese of *Lugdunensis* IV. and subject to the Archbishop of *Sens* at the solicitation of the Inhabitants, as is very probable, was sent hither into *Britain* by the *French* Bishops, to withstand and eradicate (if possible) the Heresie of *Pelagius*, which had taken here aswell as in other places too much root. This *Germanus* was born in the said Town of *Auxerre*, of Noble Parentage, and from the Schools of *Gall* was sent to *Rome* to study, where after he had furnished himself with competent skill in the Laws, he returned and practised them in his own Countrey, where he was honoured with the Magistracy of his Native place, and afterward chosen for his Successour by *Amator* the Bishop. Being sent on this errand into *Britain*, he had for Companion *Lupus* Bishop of *Troyes sur Seine* (a Bishop of the same Province) the Brother of *Vincentius Lirinensis*, and Husband to *Pimeniola* the Sister of *Hilary* Bishop of *Arles*, one of such learning and sanctity, that *Sidonius Apollinaris* calls him a *Father of Fathers*, a *Bishop of Bishops*, and another *Janus* of that Age; the most cried up *Primipilaris of the Spiritual Camp*, the *Rule of Manners*, a *Pillar of Vertue*, and *Prince of the* Gallican *Bishops*. Arrived in *Britain*, they foiled the *Pleagian* Doctours in Disputation at the Town now called St. *Albans*, where at this day is standing a small Chapel dedicated to the Honour of St. *German*. Hereby having setled the doubting, and reclaimed many whom the Pelagian Heresie had drawn aside, they converted also many Pagans to the Christian Faith, whom they Baptized at the Solemnity of *Easter* Festival in the River *Alen*. Then did they turn from fighting against Satan to combat with such as were yet enslaved by him

Germanus comes over into *Britain* and confounds the *Pelagians*.

Beda. Acta Germani Usserius de primord. Ecclesiæ Britanicæ.

Episcopus Tricassensis, & Tricassinus.

Lib. 6. *Ep.* 1.

Beda l. 1. *c.* 20.

him in behalf of those they had set at liberty, their aid having been implored against the Heathenish *Picts* and *Saxons*, towards whom they led their New Converts. *German* chose, as a place of advantage, an hollow Dale, encompassed with Hills, near a Village called at this day *Mold*, by the *British Guiderue* in *Flintshire*, where (as a very Learned person tells us) the Field at this present time retains the Name of *Maes Garmon*, or *German's Field*. *Germanus* having placed his Men in Ambush, commanded them upon a signal given to shout *Hallelujah* three times, which being echoed on all sides from the hills made their Enemies believe them twice as many as they really were, with apprehension whereof their Courages fell, and without striking one stroke they betook themselves to their Heels. Of this Victory *Gregory* the Great makes mention in his Comment upon *Job*, upon these words, *Can any understand the noise of his Tabernacle?* Having performed all this, he is said to have deposited in the Grave of St. *Alban* several Reliques he had brought over with him, and taking along with him some of that Martyr's Dust, returned into *Gall*. Some have reported that he carried over St. *Alban's* Body to *Rome*, whence some hundred of years after *Otho* the Second's Empress brought it to *Colen*, where yet they say it lyes uncorrupted. Yet the Monks of *Ely* have pretended to it, as also those of *Ottonium* or *Osell* in *Danemark*.

Usserius ubi suprà, p. 333.

Cha. 36. *v.* 29, 30.

Surius Tom. 3. *vit. Sanct. Junii* 22.

104. About this time lived *Fastidius* sirnamed *Priscus*, born in this Island of *Britain*, who being very learned in the Christian Doctrine was made Bishop of the Metropolitical Church of *London*, and preached the Gospel throughout the Island. For the clearness of his wit, the excellency of his memory, and integrity of his life he is said to have excelled all the Clergy of this Countrey, and to have written certain Pieces, of which voracious time has deprived us. And about this same time or not long after lived *Nynias* or *Nynna*, by some called *Nynianus Venedota*, born of the *British* Bloud Royal, who when young went to *Rome* to study, and there being instructed by the Clergy of that Church in the Christian Religion, returned into his own Countrey, and spent all his life in painfull Preaching to the *Britains* and *Picts*. *Beda* writes, that the Southern *Picts* were by this most Reverend Bishop and Holy Man converted to the Faith, whose Episcopal Seat famous for the Name and Church of St. *Martin* the Bishop (where he with other Saints resteth) the *English* Nation now obtaineth in the Place, which belonging to the Province of the *Bernicii*, is commonly called, *At White House*, or *Ad Candidam Casam*, because he there built a Church of Stone, contrary to the *British* Custome. He wrote Meditations on the Psalms, a Book of Sentences of Holy Men, yet extant; the rest of his Works being lost. He is commended for his assiduity in reading the Scriptures, for his singular Charity to the Poor Fatherless and Widows. Some say he was famous for Miracles; he died in a good Old Age. That we may joyn these matters of *Britain* together, we shall here tell the Reader that *Germanus* had not been long in his own Countrey when the Pelagian root of Heresie again beginning to repullulate, the Pious and Orthodox Clergy again desired his return to them, who would not be wanting to so good a work, but crossed the Seas again in company of *Severus* the Scholar of *Lupus*, who Preached to the inhabitants of *Germania Prima*, and was ordained Bishop of *Triers*. Having repressed the Insolence of the Hereticks, and wrought a Miracle (as *Beda* tells us) upon the Lame Son of *Elusius*, he returned into *Gall* and died not long after.

Gennadius, Trithemius, Balæus.

Nynianus Venedota a famous Churchman of *Britain*.

Lib. 3. *c.* 4. *Chronologia Saxonica ad A. D.* 559. *Histor. Magdeburg. Cent.* 5. *c.* 10.

Beda. l. 1. *c.* 21.

105. After the first Journey of *Germanus* into *Britain*, the Year of our Lord CCCCXXIX. was *Palladius* a Deacon of the *Roman* Church sent by *Celestine* the Bishop to Preach the Gospel to the *Scots*, who prospering so much in his work that this Nation began to shake off that Pagan and Idolatrous Superstition wherewith it had formerly been blinded; he had the Honour to be called the Apostle of the *Scots*. He strenuously also opposed Pelagianism in the Island, against which he wrote a Book, besides other Works. Assistant to him in this Pious Work was *Servanus*, born in *Scotland* of *Scotish* Parents, who was afterward sent to Preach the Gospel to the *Orchades*, of whom he was also called the Apostle. Now he being born of *Scotish* Parents, the Reader must know that many of that Nation had long before this embraced the Christian Faith, the Gospel having been preached and received there in the time of *Victor* Bishop of *Rome*. Whilst the Gospel thus flourished in the Northern Parts, and the errours of *Pelagius* met with such as discovered their rottenness and danger, the Devil was ready to begin another assault upon the Church, and had already furnished himself with a fresh Champion; for *Nestorius* by this time, warm in his Patriarchal See, began now to vent those Doctrines which for want of fit advantages he had hitherto concealed.

Idem ib. c. 13. *Chronol. Saxon. ad A. D.* CCCCXXIX. *Prosper. Sozom. l.* 8. *c.* 26. *Niceph. l.* 13. *c.* 32. *Trithemius, Balæus.*

Palladius Preaches the Gospel to the *Scots*.

Servanus to the *Orchades*.

Balæus Hist. Magdib. Cent. 5. *c.* 10.

Being of old principled by *Theodorus* Bishop of *Mopsuestia* and *Diodorus* of *Tarsus* he had the luck also to be Nephew of *Paulus Samosatenus*, whose opinions did him no good, though he pretended to be a great Enemy to them, and an earnest Maintainer of the *Nicene* Faith. He broached not his Heresie first himself, but *Anastasius* a Priest whom he had brought with him from *Antioch*, whom he highly esteemed, and used as a Councillour in all his matters. This Priest on a certain time taught publickly in the Church, that none ought to call the Virgin *Mary Theotocos*, or the Mother of God, because she was but a Woman, and of a Woman God could not be born. This raised a marvellous disorder amongst both Laity and Clergy, who had had it of a long time inculcated into them, that Christ was true God, but when they blamed *Anastasius*, and expected he should be called to an account for such Language, *Nestorius* became his Patron, and not onely his but the Patron of his Opinion, not mincing at all the matter, but in his Sermons maintaining what he had asserted, that the Blessed Virgin could not be the Mother of God. This put the People besides their Wits. Some said one thing some another, many thought he was of opinion that Christ was but a mere Man, and that he went about to revive the Heresie of *Samosatenus* and *Photinus*. Not onely disputing there was, as happeneth upon such occasion, but so great were the heats and dissentions, and the Schisms came to such an height, that the summoning of a general Council seemed needfull for deciding the Controversie, and appeasing the minds of Men.

Evagrius lib. 1. cap. 2. Cyril de Incar. Virg. Suidas. Socrates, lib. 7. cap. 32.

The Heresie of *Nestorius* Bishop of *Constantinople.*

106. But *Nestorius* not contenting himself with publishing his opinions in his own Diocese, divulged them by Books sent into all Places, and *Ægypt* amongst others, where some Monks were intoxicated with this new Doctrine. Hereupon *Cyril* the *Alexandrian* Patriarch bestired himself, as appears by this Epistle. Yet with caution, for knowing that *Theodosius* the Emperour had been the Promoter of *Nestorius* to that See, at first he sent to *Constantinople* onely a Confutation of such Opinions, not naming the broacher of them; at length when all the World began to take notice of them he wrote to himself the Heretick several times, desiring him to beware of such assertions, to which he answered with very great scorn and stomach. *Cyril* seeing there was no good to be done, and having by Letters consulted with *Cœlestinus* the Bishop of *Rome*, and others, he resolved to call a Provincial Synod of Bishops to *Alexandria*, wherein the opinion of *Nestorius* was condemned as Heretical, and twelve Anathematisms formed, which were afterwards sent to *Nestorius*, therewith if possible to reclame him from his Errours. These because directed against his Tenents, discover what they were to us, and therefore we shall summarily repeat them. 1. "He that shall not confess God to be *Immanuel*, and therefore the Blessed "Virgin to be *Theotocos*, *Deipara*, or *Mother of God*, according to the Flesh "let him be *Anathema*. 2. As also such as shall not confess, that the word "of God the Father was hypostatically united to the Flesh, and Christ to "be one with his own Flesh, *viz.* both God and Man. 3. And such as after "union distinguish the Hypostases, and conjoin them onely in respect of Dignity, "Authority or Power, not according to natural Union. 4. And such as attri-"bute to two Persons or two Hypostases, those words which occur in Evange-"lical and Apostolical Writings being spoken either by the Holy men concer-"ning Christ, or by Christ concerning himself; and sometimes ascribe them to "a Man, considered a part from the Eternal word of God; otherwhiles as appro-"priate to God and the word of the Father. 5. Such also as should call the "Man Christ *Deifer* or *Theophorus*, and not true God as the onely and natural "Son of God, inasmuch as the Word being made Flesh, communicates as with "Flesh and Bloud. 6. And those who should call the Word of the Father, "the God or the Lord of Christ, and not rather confess the same to be "God and Man, forasmuch as the word was made Flesh according to the "Scriptures. 7. If any affirmed that Jesus Christ being a mere Man was "acted or assisted by God the Word, and should fansie the Glory of the "onely begotten, to belong to the Man as another beside the word. "8. In like manner, if any should affirm that the Man assumed ought to be "adored with the word of God himself, to be glorified with him, and to be "called God as one Person with another (for this Particle *with* necessarily "hinteth so much) and with the same adoration, Worship not *Emanuel*, and "give one Glory to him, according to that saying that the Word was made "Flesh. 9. Such as should say, that our one Lord Jesus Christ was glorified by "the Holy Ghost, as by a Power aliene from himself, and the Virtue he used

Is anathematiz'd in a Provincial Synod at *Alexandria.*

"against

"against unclean Spirits, and in working Divine Miracles he had it from him, "and that the Spirit was not his own by which he wrought such Miracles. "10. Seeing we are taught by Scripture, that Christ was the High Priest and "Apostle of our Profession, and offered himself for us a sweet Savour, to God "the Father, If any shall say that the Word of God himself was not our High "Priest and Apostle after he was made Flesh and Man like unto us, but that "Man which was born of a Woman, as some other divers from him; Or who "shall affirm that he offered a Sacrifice for himself and not for us onely, he ha-"ving no need of an oblation who was void of Sin. 11. If any confess that "the Flesh of our Lord was not quickning, or the proper Flesh of the Word of "God himself, but of some other besides him joyned with him in Dignity, having "Divine Inhabitation alone and not rather quickning, as being made the proper "Flesh of the Word, able to quicken all things. 12. Lastly, if any deny the "Word of God to have suffered in the Flesh, been Crucified in the Flesh, tasted "of Death in the Flesh, and to have become the First-born from the Dead, in "that he is Life, and enlivens all things as God, let him be accursed.

Nestorius accuseth *Cyril* as an Heretick to the Emperour.

107. These Anathematisms being brought to *Nestorius*, that he might subscribe them he was so far from doing this, that he not onely defended the Doctrine by them condemned, but accused *Cyril* as an Heretick of the Sect of *Apollinaris*, and afterwards drew up twelve Anathematisms against him, to which he sufficiently answered. At present he could not be condemned, forasmuch as he impeached his grand Accuser of the same Crime, nay it was so far from that that vehemently accusing *Cyril* to the Emperour, as a turbulent and ambitious Person, he procured Letters to be written to him, wherein he was chidden and threatned, except he would study Peace and Union with *Nestorius*. *Cyril* nothing herewith terrified, set himself with all Alacrity to write to the Emperour, and his Sisters, and laying before them the dangerous Principles of their Patriarch, desired an universal Council might be called, for the full and clear examining of the Truth. *Theodosius* perceiving matters come to that pass, that no Peace could be else expected, by his Imperial Letters dated *November* 20, summons an universal Synod, to meet at *Ephesus* against *Whitsontide*, adding after the Precept that he should not excuse any that failed to be there by that time either to God or Man, forasmuch as such as refused to be present at the sacred Meeting of Bishops could not possibly bear any good Conscience: Not onely were the Bishops of the East summoned, but such of the West also as were most eminent, amongst whom St. *Augustine*, who yet e'er the Messenger arrived at *Carthage*, was departed to a place void of all dissention and errour. For God had removed this most Reverend and Learned Bishop, this most eminent orthodox Christian, out of the way, lest he should either see or feel the Cruelty of the *Arian Vandals*, who had now besieged *Hippo* above two Months. He lived 76 years, whereof 36 he spent in the Episcopal Function. He preached to his last, and prayed in his Church beseeching God either to remove the Siege, give his Flock patience to endure it, and submit to his good pleasure, or take him out of the World to himself. Falling sick of a Fever, he shut himself up, permitting none to come to him, but at such time as the Physicians visited him, or when he must necessarily take some refreshment, spending ten Days in continual Prayers and Tears; for his Judgment was that a good Christian, especially a Priest, ought not to die without some remarkable signs of Repentance and Humiliation.

Tom. 1. Concil.

Who summons an universal Synod at *Ephesus*.

St. *Augustine* dies.

Vide Baron. ad An. 430.

Possidius in vita.

108. As for a Testament he made none, having nothing to dispose or bequeath thereby, nor ever had any intention to inrich his Kindred. His Books and Library he had committed to the Church, there to be preserved for the benefit of Posterity, and concerning his own Works this is very remarkable, that about a year after when the City was taken and set on fire, yet they were wonderfully preserved. Those that were written against *Pelagius* and his Tenents had various reception, not onely as the World were inclined to, and against that Heretick; But they were maligned and opposed by several in *Gall*, who pretended to abhor those Errours against which he wrote, and they were as earnestly defended by *Hilary* Bishop of *Arles* and *Prosper* of *Aquitain*. To his Works which are very many, are added many spurious and some doubtfull, which have been detected, and branded by *Erasmus* and others. Amongst the former sort is the 14 Homily, *de Nat. Domini*, of which he was not the Authour, the Learned *Molanus* with the Divines of *Lovain*, having rejected and censured it to be as it is the Work of an unlearned Novice, yet *Baronius* cites it to prove that *Joseph* was unacquainted with any Matrimonial Act, which is now brought to be the Com-

His Works.

Bp. *Montague.*

mon Tenent of the *Roman* Schools. Amongst the Books which he wrote himself, there is one which is not to be read without caution; and that is his Book *de ordine*, from the Authority of which some *Romanists* will prove Stews to be tolerated in a Christian State. But when *Augustine* wrote that Book as our *Jewel* observes, he was not St. *Augustine*. He was yet a very young Man, and but a Novice in the Faith, not yet well instructed, not yet baptized in the Name of Christ, himself as yet keeping a Concubine, and living in Whoredom. What matter then if he say in it, take Harlots away from among Men, and ye fill all the Countrey with Ribaldry and Villany. Afterwards fully instructed, Christened and grown older and wiser, he was of another mind as appears from a place in his Book *De Civitate Dei*, * which Work he finished but four years before his Death. As all his Works are large Testimonies of his Learning, Ingenuity and Piety, so that of his Retractations of his Candour and Humility in an especial manner, wherein of his own accord he confesseth and revoketh his former slips, faults and errours. Long before him *Hippocrates* had done the same. After him *Cardan* and many other great Persons, yet few in comparison of those, who rather against their Consciences plead for, than own and retract their Errours. The Example of those Worthies, every one knows, every one commends rather than Opiniastrity; but when it comes to the effect not many practise. The day of the Death of St. *Augustine*, and the Anniversary appointed to be observed to his Memory, was the 28*th*. of *August*.

* *L.* 14. *c.* 18. *Istam in usu Scortatorum terrena civitas licitam fecit turpitudinem.*

CHAP. VI.

From the third Oecumenical Council *summoned by* Theodosius *the Second to the City of* Ephesus, *to the fourth* Oecumenical Council *summoned by the Emperour* Martianus *to the City of* Chalcedon.

The Space of Twenty Years and about Four Months.

The third Oecumenical Council summoned at *Ephesus*.

1. THE third *Oecumenical Council* summoned by *Theodosius* the Second to the City of *Ephesus*, assembled at *Whitsontide* or *Pentecost*, in the 24 year of the Reign of that Emperour, the 7 of *Valentinian* the Third, his Collegue, of Old *Rome* the 1184, of the New 101, the third year of the 302 Olympiad, the 14 Indiction, 107 years after the first *Nicene* Synod, 50 after the second *Oecumenical Council* summoned to *Constantinople*, *A.D.* 431 *Anicius Bassus* and *Flavius Antiochus* being Consuls.

2. In obedience to the Imperial Edict, the Bishops assembled from their several Churches. *Nestorius* with a great Multitude of People, took his Journey presently after the *Easter* Holy-days. *Cyril* the Patriarch of *Alexandria* came to *Ephesus* about *Whitsontide*, and the fifth Day after *Pentecost*, *Juvenalis* Bishop of *Jerusalem*. These with others coming in good time, staid for *John* the Patriarch of *Antioch*, who with his suffragan Bishops loitered out of design, lest he should be compelled either to condemn *Nestorius*, or with him to undergo the same censure; after fifteen Days expectation, the Metropolitans that were with him came to *Ephesus*, and signified to the Fathers, that his presence was not to be expected. Above two hundred Bishops are said to have convened, and all as well Occidentals as Orientals, either themselves or by their Legates, to have been present at this Assembly. Yet the Prelates of *Africk*, hindred by the dreadfull devastation made at this time by the *Wandals*, could not be there; neither were in any

Socrates lib. 7. *cap.* 33. *Acta Concilii.*

any Capacity to send any considerable Legation: onely *Capreolus* Primate of *Carthage*, doing asmuch as in him lay, sent *Bassulas* a Deacon of his Church with Letters of excuse to the Synod. Very many Bishops indeed were personally absent, and present onely by their Legates or Agents, as almost all the Western Bishops, and by Name *Cœlestine* Patriarch of *Rome*, whose Legates came not till the 10*th*. of *July*, and the Council had done most of their Work. Some its probable upon other occasions neglected this business, as the Bishops of *Gangra* and *Heraclea* in *Macedonia*, who were not at this Synod. Divers others wilfully and obstinately refused to be present at this Holy Synod, as *Nestorius* himself the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, *John* Patriarch of *Antioch* and some forty Bishops, who at the same time while the Holy Council was held in the Church of the Blessed Virgin at *Ephesus*, held a Conventicle by themselves in an Inn in the same City, as we shall see hereafter. Yet, notwithstanding the personal absence of the first, the negligent of the second, and wilfull absence of the last, and although no Presbyters at all were therein, not in their own right, this Holy General Council saith of its Synodical Judgment given by those that were present, that it *was nothing else but* * *the common and consenting Judgment of the whole World.* For the Council was lawfully called, all were summoned universally, it was free for all to be present, and therefore all the Bishops in the World did either personally, by their Agents express, or else in a tacit and implicit manner, wrap up their Judgment in the synodal Decree made by the Bishops present in the Council, of which *Cyril* was Patron or chief, aswell after as before the coming of *Cœlestine* his Legates to the Synod.

Wherein *Cyril* Bishop of *Alexandria* presides.

* *Nihil aliud quam communis & concors terrarum orbis sensus & consensus. Epist. Concil. Ephes. ad Imp. Tom. 2. Act. Conc. Ephes. Ep. 17.*

3. For prevention of Tumults the Emperour sent thither *Candidianus* a Count, and to keep disorderly Persons from the Council, to see that no dissention and private Quarrels might hinder their grave Consultations, with the free and exact discussion of the Causes proposed, and to provide, that every one might freely and with leisure propound what was needfull, and to have scope to refute all doubts proposed by others. At the first opening of the Synod *Nestorius* was present, whom *Cyril* when they came to fall upon the business in hand, did vehemently tax, and with other Bishops contended earnestly for Christ's Divinity, affirming him one and the same Son of God, begotten of his Father before all Ages, and in the last times made Man of a Virgin, that he was not one and another, and that the Blessed Virgin ought properly and truely to be called Θεοτόκος, or the Mother of God. Hereat *Nestorius* rose up, told them plainly he would not own a God, that grew to Man's Estate by two and three Months and so forth, and that therefore he washed his Hands of their Bloud, and thenceforth would come no more into their Company. With six other Bishops he streight departed out of the Assembly, and kept himself afterward private with those Men and others, he thought fit for his purpose. And when the Day after, three Bishops were sent by the Council to cite him to appear, and he was called once and again afterward, yet he flatly refused to come to them, using the Messengers contumeliously, and frighting them by the armed Guards he had got about him by his great Interest in *Irenæus* a Count he had brought with him, and *Candidianus*, both whom he had infected with his Heresie. The Synod perceiving how contumaciously he bore himself, resolved to proceed to the Merits of the Cause. They caused to be read the *Nicene* Faith, the Epistles of *Cyril* and *Nestorius*, written upon the Controversie, with another sent from *Cœlestine* the *Roman* Patriarch. *Theodotus* Bishop of *Ancyra* and *Acacius* of *Melita*, deposed on the blasphemous words they had heard him utter publickly at *Ephesus*. Other Speeches were alledged, the Testimonies of Scriptures and Fathers for Incarnation of the word, and the Divinity of Christ were cited, all which being done after advised and mature deliberation, the Fathers thereto compelled by the Canons, and an Epistle received from the most Holy Father, and their Collegue the Bishop of the *Roman* Church, with many Tears they came to this Resolution and sentence. He who by him therefore hath been blasphemed, our Lord Jesus Christ hath decreed by the present Holy Synod, that *Nestorius* be deposed from his Episcopal Dignity, and banished from all Society of Priests.

Tom. 1. Act. Concil. Ephes. cap. 32. Ut diligenter prospiciat, &c.

Necessitate nobis à Canonibus & sanctiss. Patris collegæq; nostri Romanæ Ecclesiæ Episcopi, Epistola imposita diu multúmque lachrymantes, &c.

And *Nestorius* Bishop of *Constantinople*, is deposed and banished the Society of Priests.

4. After the Condemnation of *Nestorius*, about four or five Days, on the 27 of *June*, came *John* the Patriarch of *Antioch* to *Ephesus*, with a Company of Bishops and Priests, and railing against *Cyril* for making such haste in censuring *Nestorius*, immediately associated himself with him and his Partisans. Now at the self same time in one and the same City of *Ephesus*, as one observes were held two several Councils, and Altar erected against Altar, Council against Council, Patri-

He with other Heretical Bishops joins in a Conventicle at *Ephesus*.

Dr. Cracknorp.

Patriarch against Patriarch, Bishops against Bishops, and Synodal sentence against Synodal sentence. The one consisted of Holy, Orthodox, and Catholick Bishops, whose President was *Cyril*: the other of Heretical, Factious, and several (*a*) deposed Bishops whose President was *John*. The former was held in the Church of the Blessed Virgin, the latter in an (*b*) Inn or Tavern, a fit place for such as denied Christ to be God. The former proceeded in all Respects orderly and synodically, the latter did all things tumultuously, presumptuously, and against the Canons, supporting themselves by Lies, Calumnies and Slanders. In summ the one was truely an holy, a general, an Oecumenical Council, wherein was the Consent of the whole Catholick Church, the other was nothing else but an heretical, schismatical Conventicle, a Faction or Conspiracy of some thirty or forty Persons unworthy the Name of Bishops, insolently opposing the Holy Council, and the whole Catholick Church, in which Number and Faction besides others, were *John* Bishop of *Antioch*, the Ringleader of the Rout, *Paul* Bishop of *Emesa*, *Theodoret* the Bishop of *Cyrus*, and *Ibas* some three or four years after Bishop of *Edessa*.

(*a*) *Ex quibus alii erant extorres vagi propriis sedibus destituti, &c. Synod. Epist. ad Cœlestinum. Tom. 4. Act. Ephes. Cap. 17.*

(*b*) *Johanne in diversorio manente, sacraque illius Synodo præsente.*

Opposing the Canonical Synod.

5. This notwithstanding, as the Holy Council deposed *Nestorius* for an Heretick, the Conventicle deposed *Cyril* for an Archheretick also, condemning his twelve Chapters as Heretical, which the Council had approved as Orthodox. As the Council excommunicated and anathematized *John*, *Paul*, *Theodoret*, *Ibas*, and all the rest of their Factious Adherents, the Conventicle anathematized *Cyril* and all his Adherents, arrogating to themselves the glorious Name of the Holy *Ephesine* Council, and slandering them that held with *Cyril* as a Conventicle, an unlawfull and disorderly Assembly, terming them *Arians*, *Apollinarians* and *Cyrillians*, aswell as those with *Cyril* called themselves, as indeed they were the Holy and Oecumenical Council, and termed *John*, with his Adherents a Faction and heretical Conventicle of *Nestorians*. In fine, as the Council constantly refused to communicate with them, till they consented to the deposing of *Nestorius*, and anathematizing his Heresie, the Conventicle not onely refused Communion with *Cyril* and other Catholicks, but bound themselves by many solemn Oaths, and that afterward in the presence of the Emperour, that they would never communicate with the *Cyrillians*, except they would condemn the twelve Chapters of *Cyril*, adding that they would rather die than consent to any one of the twelve Chapters. But though the Fathers of the true and genuine Council, wrote their Encyclical Epistle to all Christians, and continually upon urgent occasion humbly informed the Emperours of their proceedings, sending Letters after Letters, yet either were the Messengers stopt or their Letters intercepted, so that not the least notice of them came to their Majesties, whereas on the other side the frequent Letters of the Conventicle frought with Lies and Slanders, had every day access and great applause at Court; for Count *Candidianus*, whom the Emperours made their Deputy and President of the Council, to see all good and Canonical Orders therein observed, so far was faulty to his trust, as being most partial to *Nestorius* and his Heresie, he not onely was Privy and assistant to the stopping of the Councils Letters, but by his own dispatches, seconded and confirmed all the Lies which the Conventicle had writ unto the Emperours. Hence it came to pass that the Emperours misinformed, commanded all things done against *Nestorius* and others, as done against Reason and their Command to be revoked, and a new Course taken, telling them that their Majesty could not hold or esteem those things done so disorderly for firm and synodal, nay decreeing, that all thitherto done should be accounted of no force, but utterly void and frustrate.

And anathematizing them.

Sending their Calumnies to the Emperours.

Who being misinformed order that whatever was done against *Nestorius* should be utterly void.

Acta Concilii.

Majestas nostra ea quæ acta sunt pro ratis & legitimis habere non potest, pro irritis & nullis habenda esse. Imp. ad Synod. cap. 17.

6. By this means also it came to pass, that the Emperours knowing nothing of the Divisions amongst the Bishops, and how beside the Holy Council there was a factious and schismatical Conventicle of *Nestorians* held in the City, thought whatever was done aswell against *Cyril* and *Memnon* in deposing them, as against *Nestorius*, had been the Act, Judgment and Sentence of one and the same Council, upon which misinformation they confirmed at first the condemnation of all three. This put the Fathers upon such a shift as this, to send a Letter to *Constantinople* by a faithfull Messenger, who to avoid suspicion put on the Habit of a Beggar, and carried the Letter in the hollow of a Cane, which as a staff he had provided for his Journey. As soon as, by this means the Report of the late disorders came to *Constantinople*, the City was much moved, and *Theodosius* at the solicitation of his Sister and other Catholicks, commanded certain Bishops of either

Et Nestorii & Cyrilli & Memnonis exauctorationem à Sanctitate vestra nobis insinuatam calculo nostro approbavimus.

ther side to appear before him at *Constantinople*, fully to inform him of the truth of all the proceedings; and the truth being accordingly found out after diligent Examination, the Emperours by their Imperial Authority nulled all the Acts of the Conventicle, restored *Cyril* (who at this time wrote a full answer to all that had been objected against him) and *Memnon*, approved the Judgment of the Council against *Nestorius*, adding to his deposition banishment from *Constantinople*. But the synodal Sentence of deposition against *John*, and the rest of his Associates they suspended for a while, partly to prevent a greater Schism, which *John* by his great interest might procure, but especially in hope that as well he as the Eastern Bishops might in time be brought off, and reduced to Unity with *Cyril* and the Catholick Church, which in the height of their present heat and stomach could not be expected. And thus was the Council at *Ephesus* dissolved, a far greater Rent being by this means left at the end, than had been at the beginning thereof, and so that Malady for which it was called not presently cured but increased. *Nestorius* was permitted to stay as yet in the Monastery of St. *Euprepius* at *Antioch*, to see if he would recant his opinions, but growing more obstinate, was at length after some three or four years banished into the Wilderness of *Oasis*. The Emperour also animadverted upon his Courtiers who had been false to their trust, and done so ill Offices for the *Ephesine* Fathers. *Evagr. l. 1. c. 7.*

But after a full understanding how matters went the Emperours null the Acts of the Conventicle, and add Banishment to the deposing of *Nestorius*.

7. But besides what these Fathers did directly against *Nestorianism* we must not omit certain Canons of this Synod of *Ephesus*, mentioned after a Preface, wherein they signifie, that being called together by the Emperour's Edict, above thirty of their Number had separated themselves in behalf of *Nestorius*, and therefore remained excommunicate and deposed. Then follow seven Canons of which this is the Summ, that if any Metropolitan Bishop or Clerk imbraced the Heresie of *Nestorius* or *Cœlestius*, he should be excommunicated and degraded; if a Lay-person he should be excommunicated; And the same to extend against such as produced, wrote or composed any form of Faith, besides that of the *Nicene Council*; As also such Persons as should appear of *Charisius* his opinion who thought not aright of the Humanity of Christ. The eighth Canon was made upon occasion, that the Patriarch of *Antioch*, took upon him to ordain in the Churches of *Cyprus*, *which thing being an innovation contrary to Ecclesiastical Constitutions, and the Canons of Holy Fathers, and for that Epidemical Diseases require a greater Remedy*, because *they are more dangerous than others, therefore the Fathers decree that it be taken for a Rule in all Dioceses and Provinces whatsoever, that no Bishop invade or occupy any Province, which and from the beginning hath not been under his Jurisdiction or that of his Predecessours. If any hath already invaded any such Province and by force made it his own, the Holy Synod commands he do restore it, lest the Canons of the Holy Fathers be neglected, and lest under pretence of Administration of Holy things, the Arrogance of secular Power creep in, and by degrees we imprudently lose that Liberty which our Lord Jesus Christ the Saviour of all Men, by the price of his own Bloud hath bestowed upon us. Therefore it pleaseth the Holy Synod, that the Rights of every Province, which according to the Ancient Custome it hath had from the beginning, be preserved to it pure and inviolable, every Metropolitan having liberty to take Copies of those Acts for his Security. And if any Person shall produce any Sanction contrary to what is here defined, it is the pleasure of all the holy and universal Synod, that it be void and of none effect.* That this Canon was made tacitely against the Incroachments of the *Roman* Patriarch, some do gather not obscurely from the Acts of this Council, it evidently from them appearing, that this Canon prevailed and was of force, notwithstanding the Epistle of *Innocent* the First to *Alexander*, whereby he declared that the *Cyprians* did not carry themselves like faithfull Men, except they subjected themselves to the Patriarch of *Antioch*. Yet we see this Canon of this Oecumenical Council, is quite contrary to the Sentence of the *Roman* Bishop, for it decrees that attempt to have been made upon *Cyprus* by him of *Antioch*, against Ecclesiastical Constitutions and Decrees of the Fathers, and therefore all Sanctions or Epistles in this Case to be utterly null. But besides those Canons (that we may conclude with this Synod) the Fathers made another Constitution against the *Massalian* Hereticks, *Euchytæ* and *Enthusiasts* (having in the ninth Session condemned the *Pelagians*) and anathematized a Book of those Hereticks, going under the Name of *Asceticon*, which some think near a-kin to the *Ascetica*, reckoned amongst the Works of *Basil*. *Tom. 2. Ephes. Synod. append. l. c. 4. Ep. 18.*

Several other Canons.

8. Ne-

8. *Nestorius* being deposed by the Council, that Decree was ratified (*a*) and established by the Emperour, aswell as other matters according (*b*) to his Promise and their Petition, whereby *they* (*c*) *earnestly desired his Piety, that he would command that all which was done by this Holy and Oecumenical Council against that Heretick, might stand in force being confirmed by his Royal Assent.* For in their proceedings, the Emperour's (*d*) Letters were their Direction, and as they themselves profess, a Torch to all their Actions, and in all the Affronts and Contumelies they endured from the Conventicle, they betook themselves to him; beseeching him to be Judge betwixt them, and examine their doings. The See of *Constantinople* being therefore void, there (*e*) arose a difference about the Election of a new Bishop. *Proclus* had in all probability been the Man, but that some in power were his back friends, and pretended that the Canons of the Church forbad any Bishop to be translated from one See to another, which though either ignorantly or malitiously spoken (the Canons for the better Edification of the Church allowing it, and many Examples of these ancient times approving it) yet was of such force, that the People was therewith satisfied and appeased. *Maximianus* then, three Months after the Deposition of *Nestorius* was chosen Patriarch, by function a Priest, who led a Monastical Life, one that of late had purchased a good Name by building at his own Charge Sepulchres, where Godly Men should be interred, but altogether unlearned, and who had determined to lead a quiet Life, free from all Care and Molestation. Thus was the Place of *Nestorius* filled, but the rent and division he had made in the Eastern parts of the World, not yet made up and conjoyned. This disturbance of the Church, much disquieted the mind of the Religious Emperour *Theodosius*, who the very next year after the shutting up of the Council, when he thought time and better consideration, to have alleyed the heat of the Eastern Bishops, began to solicite that Union which before he had purposed to effect, professing his resolution to be not to desist from this so good a Work, till God should vouchsafe to restore Unity and Peace to his People. To this end he wrote a very religious and pathetical Letter to *John* Patriarch of *Antioch*, by many reasons perswading, and by his Imperial Authority requiring him, and with him the rest of the faction to subscribe to the deposition of *Nestorius*, the anathematizing of his Heresie, and so to imbrace Holy Communion with *Cyril*, and the Catholick Church.

(*a*) *Imperator sententia Synodi publicè approbata, Nestorio exilium indicit. Act. Conc. Tom.* 5. *cap.* 11. & *C. Th. de Hæret. lib. ult.*

(*b*) *Ac tum demum à nostra Pietate confirmationem expectate. Tom.* 3. *c.* 17.

(*c*) *Ut jubeat ea omnia per vestræ pietatis nutum & consensum confirmata. Act. Conc. Ephes. Tom.* 4. *c.* 8.

(*d*) *Primo omnium Actorum monumentis reverendas pietatis vestræ literas quasi facem quandam præmisimus. Ep. Synod. ad Imp. Tom.* 2. *Act. Conc. Eph. c.* 22.

(*e*) *Socrat. l.* 7. *c.* 34. *lat. vel* 35. *gr.*

Maximianus chosen Patriarch of *Constantinople*, in the room of *Nestorius*.

Ep. Imp. ad Acatium Beræens. Episc. Johanni mandavit, &c.

9. *John* and the other Eastern Bishops, upon the Emperour's motion sought to make an Union with *Cyril*, but laboured to effect it by drawing him over to them, and their Heresies, not by passing over to him, and closing with him according to the Decrees of the late Council. They caused *Acatius*, Bishop of *Beræa*, to write to him in all their Names, offering Unity and Concord, but on this condition that he should abolish and condemn whatever he had written against *Nestorianism*, and consequently both his twelve Chapters, the *Ephesine* Decree, and all of that nature. *Cyril* answered with Resolution and Courage, that what he had written was in defence of the Catholick Faith, and therefore he should never recant it, so that this Art failing they attempted to effect the Union by *Paul* Bishop of *Emisa*, whom they sent to *Alexandria* to agitate by word of Mouth, and another Letter, wherein though they were not so violent as in the former, yet they found fault with the *Ephesine Council*. *Cyril* seeing they added as he said Contumelies, who should have asked pardon and recanted, would neither admit of their second Epistle, but when *Paul* earnestly endeavoured to excuse them, affirming upon his Oath, that their purpose was not to exasperate, but close with him in Charity, he was content to admit this excuse, *Paul* having in Commission to work him off as much as could be, but however to make an Agreement with him consented to anathematize *Nestorius* and his Heresies, to the deposing of him and the Election of *Maximianus* into his place, which when he had subscribed with his own hand, *Cyril* received him into Communion. Now he would have perswaded *Cyril*, that seeing he came in the name of the rest, and had subscribed for them all, and as in the common Person of all the Orientals, that this his subscription might serve for those that were absent, and that requiring no more of them, he would be content with their Letters he brought with him. *Cyril* would by no means hear of this, telling *Paul* his subscription could satisfie onely for himself, as for the rest,

Union in the Church promoted by the Emperour *Theodosius*.

Epp. Cyrilli ad Acatium & Dignatum. Tom. 5. *cc.* 7. 16.

rest they must personally and for themselves subscribe before they could be received into Communion. Hereupon he wrote an orthodox Confession of Faith to the same effect as *Paul* had subscribed, and sent it to *John*, requiring his personal subscription to it.

10. *Paul* returning to *Antioch*, brought this resolute Answer of *Cyril* to *John* and his Bishops there assembled in Synod, who perceiving there was no other way to make an Union, and that *Paul* had both subscribed himself, and promised for them that they should doe the like, at length yielded to all *Cyril*'s Demands, and for an assurance of their sincerity herein, wrote a Synodal and Encyclical Epistle to *Cyril*, which they likewise sent to *Sixtus* Bishop of *Rome* (for *Cœlestine* was e'er this time dead) to *Maximianus* and other Principal Bishops, wherein having first made a sound and orthodox confession of their Faith, they give their willing assent and subscription to the deposing of *Nestorius*, and anathematizing of his Heresies. This Letter they prevailed with *Paul* to carry and make a second Journey to *Alexandria*, to conclude a final Peace and Union. At whose coming thither this second time, and bringing with him the undoubted testimony of the orthodox belief of *John*, and the chief of the Eastern Bishops, and that they had now done all which the Emperour and *Cyril* had required, they were welcomly received, and the union being perfectly concluded, Peace was restored to the Church. In token whereof *Paul* preached at *Alexandria* in *December*, and made before *Cyril* and all the People so orthodox a Profession of his Faith, that his Auditours for joy interrupting him four or five times, cryed out, *Orthodox* Paul *thou art welcome to us*; Cyril *is Orthodox*, Paul *is Orthodox*. And in Congratulation with *John* the *Antiochian* Patriarch and the rest, *Cyril* wrote a notable Epistle, which begins, *Let the Heavens rejoyce, and let the Earth be glad*: and publishing this as an Hymn of Joy and Thanksgiving for the Union so happily effected, sung, *Glory to God, and peace amongst Men.* This is the sum of the whole proceedings betwixt *Cyril* and the Eastern Bishops, touching the matter of the union, as to any one who consults the Epistles of *Cyril* to *Acatius* Bishop of *Melitene*, to *Dynatus* and *John*, and compares them with the Epistle of *John*, and that of the Synod of *Antioch* sent to *Cyril* and *Xistus*, will clearly perceive. Yet so impudent were the *Nestorians* as to slander *Cyril* to have at the time of the union consented in all points to them and their Heresie, and to have condemned his former Doctrine with the *Ephesine* Council. For knowing that *John* and the Eastern Bishops had written to *Cyril* so resolutely, that unless he condemned his own Chapters they would not consent to any Peace or Union; and seeing that *Cyril* afterwards and in the same year consented with *John*, and made an union with him; thereupon they took occasion to boast that *Cyril* did it upon the condition required by *John* at the first, which was the condemning of his former Doctrine, wilfully and maliciously concealing both how *Cyril* utterly denied to yield unto them, or to that condition required by them, and how at length *John* and so many of them as were received to Communion consented wholly unto him, and subscribed to the Catholick Faith. All this they not onely suppressed, but to colour the matter, forged also a Letter under *Cyril*'s name, whom therein they made to consent to the condemnation of his own Doctrine; which Letter *Ibas* in his Epistle inclosed and sent unto *Maris* the Heretick. All these things our Learned Doctour *Crackanthorp* had detected, evinced and confuted, and hath moreover discovered how *Baronius* hath perverted the narration of this union, and strengthned the calumny of the *Nestorians* by his misreporting of the same, and all to serve the great designs of his Pope *Vigilius* his infallibility, and to make him appear orthodox and right in the Faith, but to how little purpose in due time will be discovered.

Which is effected, *John* complying with *Cyril* and the true Orthodox.

St. *Patrick* by *Cœlestine* Bishop of *Rome* sent into *Ireland* to convert the *Irish*.

11. About the time of the celebration of this *Ephesine* Synod, was *Patricius* sent by *Cœlestine* Bishop of *Rome* into *Ireland*, to convert that Island to the Christian Faith. This *Patricius*, it's said, was a *Britain* by Birth, some say, a *Scot*, the Son of *Calphurnius* a Noble Deacon, and of *Couche* the Sister of famous St. *Martin*. At his Baptism he was called *Suchar*, or (as *Bale* will have it) *Succet*. *Germanus* the *Gallick* Bishop changed it into *Mangonius*; and *Cœlestine* Bishop of *Rome* altered this into *Patricius*. Being instructed by his Uncle St. *Martin* and St *German*, he went to *Rome*, where for his eminent worth he came to be known to the Bishop, by whom he was sent with some other Assistants to convert the Nation of the *Irish*. Being a Man of great Zeal, Piety and Industry, famous also for Miracles, as those who write his Life too lavishly talk, he brought the whole Island to embrace the Christian Faith, and oversaw the Flock which he had converted, some say, about sixty years. This is the famous St. *Patrick* the Apostle, and *Tutelary* Saint

Bal. Sigebert, Usserius de prim. Eccles. Britan. & Of the Religion professed by the ancient *Irish*.

Who compare him with St. Peter.

of the *Irish*, who had him in so great esteem whilst yet living, that they compared him with St. *Peter* himself, as appears by what *Secundinus*, or (as they call him in that Countrey) St. *Scachlin*, about the year CCCCXLVIII. wrote of him in a certain Hymn: *He is constant in the fear of God, and unmoveable in the Faith, upon whom the Church is builded, as upon* Peter; *whose Apostleship also he hath obtained from God, and the gates of Hell shall not prevail against him.* Christ is there said to *have chosen him for his Vicar.* And his See of *Armagh* is by one *Calvus Perennis*, in the days of *Brian* King of *Ireland*, who was slain in the year of Our Lord M.XIV. termed the See Apostolick; as *Desiderius* Bishop of *Cahors* in *France* is by their Countreyman *Gallus* saluted both *Papa* and *Apostolicus*; and the Bishop of *Kildare* in *Ireland* honoured by *Cogitosus*, with the style of *Summus Sacerdos*, and *Summus Pontifex*, the *Highest Priest*, and *Highest Bishop*; these Titles and Prerogatives which the Pope now peculiarly challengeth as Ensigns of his Monarchy, being heretofore usually communicated to other Bishops, when the universal Church was governed in an *Aristocratical* way.

Usserius ibid. ex vet. Cod. Eccles. Armach. c. 7. Idem ibid.

And style him *Summus Pontifex, &c.*

12. Now a Countreyman of our own would make us believe, that *When* Ireland *first received* Christendom, *they gave themselves into the Jurisdiction both Spiritual and Temporal of the See of* Rome. But in this respect is told that he speaks without Book, by as Learned a Person in these matters as ever that Countrey bred, of the Spiritual Jurisdiction untruly, of the Temporal absurdly. For from this first Legation of *Palladius* and *Patricius* (some say *Palladius* first Preached in *Ireland*) who were first sent to plant the Faith in this Countrey, it cannot be shewed (saith he) out of any monument of Antiquity, that the Bishop of *Rome* did ever send any Legates to exercise Spiritual Jurisdiction here (much less any of his Deputies to exercise Temporal Power) before *Gillebertus*, *Who first* (they say) *exercised the Legantine Function of the Apostolick See*, as a Contemporary of his words it, even *Bernard* himself in the Life of *Malachias*. We reade, moreover (saith he) of sundry Archbishops that have been in this Land betwixt the days of St. *Patrick* and of *Malachias*, What one of them can be named that ever sought for a Pall from *Rome*? *Joceline* indeed, a late Monk of the Abbey of *Furness* writes of St. *Patrick*, that the Bishop of *Rome* conferred the Pall upon him, together with the exercise of Legantine Power. But he is well known to be a most fabulous Authour, and for this particular, *Bernard* who was more Ancient, informeth us far otherwise, that from the very Beginning till his time the Metropolitical See of *Armagh* wanted the use of the Pall, with whom the Authours of the Annals of *Mailross* doth fully accord, noting that in the year M.CLI. *Pope* Eugenius (to whom *Bernard* wrote his Books *de Consideratione*) *did by his Legate* John Papiron *transmit four Palls into* Ireland; *whither a Pall had never been brought.* Hereupon *Giraldus Cambrensis*, though he acknowledgeth that St. *Patrick Did chuse* Armagh *for his Seat, and appointed it to be, as it were, a Metropolitical See, and the Proper place of the Primacy of* Ireland; *yet withall affirms, that indeed there were no Archbishops in* Ireland, *but that Bishops consecrated one another till the bringing of four Palls by the said* Papiro, *or* Paparo, *the Pope's Legate.* And some of the Chroniclers after him note concerning *Galasius*, then Archbishop of *Armagh*, that *He is said to have been the first Archbishop, because he used the first Pall, and that others before him were Archbishops in Name onely, for reverence of St.* Patrick *as Apostle of that Nation.*

Campion Hist. of Ireland l. 2. c. 2. Usher. quo supra. c. 8.

Ireland not under the Jurisdiction of the See of *Rome.*

Metropoliticæ sedi deerat adhuc & defuerat ab initio pallii usus. Bernard. vita Malachiæ.

13. The complaint made by *Anselm* in his Letters to *Muriardach* King of *Ireland*, that *Bishops there were consecrated by Bishops alone*, might seem somewhat to justify *Giraldus* his Relation; if we did not find a farther complaint there also, that they were often ordained by one Bishop onely. But as this later argueth not the want of a competent number of Bishops in the Land (for they had more than a sufficient number of such) but a neglect of the observance of the *Nicene* Canon, so can it not rightly be inferred out of the former that they had no Archbishops there at that time, but that rather the Bishops failed much in the respect they ought to their *Metropolitan.* For that the *Irish* had their Archbishops, besides many other pregnant testimonies that might be produced, Pope *Hildebrand's* own Brief sufficiently manifests, directed to *Terdeluachus* (or *Tirlagh*) *the Illustrious King of* Ireland, *the Archbishops, Bishops, Abbats, Nobles, and all Christians inhabiting* Ireland. And for the Archbishops of *Armagh*, it appears most evidently from *Bernard* in the Life of *Malachias*, that they were so far from being Metropolitans and Primates in Name onely, that they exercised much greater Authority before they were put to the charge of fetching Palls from *Rome*, than ever they did afterward, and that they not onely consecrated Bishops, but erected also

Anselm. l. 3. Ep. 142.

Greg. 7. Ep. ad Hib. MS. in Biblioth. Cotton.

also new Bishopricks and Archbishopricks too sometimes, according as they saw convenient. *Nennius* writes, that St. *Patrick* founded in *Ireland* three hundred sixty five Churches, consecrated three hundred sixty five Bishops, and ordained three thousand Presbyters. In process of time, the number of Bishops was dayly multiplied, at the pleasure of the Metropolitan (whereof *Bernard* complains) and that not onely so far that almost every Church had a several Bishop, but that also in some Towns or Cities were ordained more than one, nay sometimes made without any certain place assigned to them. As for the erecting of New Archbishopricks, if the Legends may be credited, King *Eugus* and St. *Patrick*, with all the People did ordain, that in the City and See of *Albeus* (now *Emelye*, annexed to *Cashell*) should be the Archbishoprick of the whole Province of *Munster*. In like manner *Brandubh* King of the *Lagenians*, with the consent aswell of the Laity as of the Clergy, appointed that in the City of *Fernes* (the See of *Moedoy*, otherwise called *Edanus*) should be the Archbishoprick of all the Province of *Leinster*. But *Bernard's* testimony we have no reason not to believe, relating what was known to be done in his own time; that *Celsus* the Archbishop of *Armagh* had of new constituted another Metropolitical See, but subject to the first See, and the Archbishop thereof. Whereby we may see, saith Archbishop *Usher*, that in the erection of New Archbishopricks and Bishopricks all things were here done at home, without consulting with the See of *Rome* in the matter.

Having Archbishops and Bishops ordering all things at home.

14. Our said Countreyman confesseth, that *To the Monarch was granted a Negative in the nomination of Bishops at every Vacation: the Clergy and Laity of the Diocese recommending him to the King, the King to the Monarch, the Monarch to the Archbishop of* Canterbury; which last clause is erroneously by him extended to the Bishops of the whole Nation, which properly belonged to the *Ostman* Strangers that possessed the three Cities of *Dublin*, *Waterford* and *Limrick*. But as the Kings and People of this Land (our Authour proceeds) in those Elder times kept the nomination of their Archbishops and Bishops in their own Hands, not depending on the Pope's provision that way, so do we not find by any approved Record of Antiquity, that any visitations of the Clergy were held here in the Pope's name, much less that any Indulgences were sought for by our People at his Hands. For as for the Charter of St. *Patrick* (by some intituled, *de Antiquitate Avalonica*) wherein *Phaganus* and *Dervoianus* are said to have purchased ten or thirty years of Indulgence from Pope *Eleutherius*, and St. *Patrick* himself to have procured twelve years in his time, from *Celestine* it might justly be demonstrated were this a fit place, a mere figment devised by the Monks of *Glastenbury*. Neither do I well know what credit is to be given to that stragling sentence which I find ascribed to the same Authour: *If any Questions arise in this Island, let them be referred to the See Apostolick*; or to that other Decree attributed to *Auxilius*, *Patricius*, *Secundinus* and *Benignus*. *When any difficult Cause, and unknown to all the Judges of the* Scotish *Nation shall arise, it is rightly to be referred to the See of the Archbishop of the* Irish (viz. *to* Patrick) *and to the examination of the Prelate thereof. But if by him and his Wise Men a Cause of this nature cannot easily be made up: we have decreed, it shall be sent to the See Apostolick; that is to say, to the Chair of the Apostle* Peter, *which hath the authority of the City of* Rome. Onely this I will say, that as it is most likely that St. *Patrick* had a special regard unto the Church of *Rome*, from whence he was sent for conversion of this Island; so if I my self had lived in his days, for the resolution of a doubtfull Question, I should as willingly have listned to the Judgment of the Church of *Rome* as to the determination of any Church in the whole World, so reverend an estimation have I of the Integrity of that Church as it stood in those good days. But that St. *Patrick* was of opinion that the Church of *Rome* was sure ever afterward to continue in that good estate, and that there was a perpetual privilege annexed unto that See, that it should never err in Judgment, or that the Pope's Sentences were always to be held as infallible Oracles; that will I never believe: sure I am that my Countreymen after him were of another Belief, who were so far from submitting themselves in this sort to whatsoever should proceed from the See of *Rome*, that they oftentimes stood out against it, when they had little cause so to doe. For proof whereof I need to seek no farther than to those very allegations which have been lately urged for maintenance of the supremacy of the Pope and Church of *Rome* in this Countrey. Thus much of St. *Patrick*.

Edm. Camp. Hist. Hibern. l. 1. c. ult. ad Ann. 948.

Without any Visitations from thence, or Indulgences sought for by any of the *Irish* from *Rome*.

Chart. St. Patric. in Gulielm. Malmesb. libello de Antiq. Claston. Ecclesiæ M. S. Vet. Collect. Canon. Bibliotb. Cotton. Vet. Codex. Eccles. Armagh.

15. About the time of this *Ephesine* Synod, died *Paulinus* the famous Bishop of *Nola*. And the year following, *April* the 6th. *Cœlestine* the Patriarch of *Rome*, after he had born that Office eight years, five months, and three days, and was buried

Paulinus Bishop of *Nola* dies.

Baron. ad An. CCCCXXXII.

Celestine Patriarch of Rome dies.

buried in the Cemetery of *Priscilla*, in the *Via Salaria*. He ordained, that the Psalms of *David* should be sung by way of Antiphony before the Communion, which formerly had not been done, the Epistle of St. *Paul* and the Gospel being onely read; as also that the Priest at the beginning of the administration of that Sacrament should recite the forty second Psalm, *Judica me Deus*, in which Psalm you must know *David* prays against his Enemies that persecuted him. The *Gradual* also, as it's called, which they sing in the Mass, is attributed to him. Some add, that he caused also to be chanted in the Liturgy or Mass, *Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus*. He dedicated the beautifull Church of *Julius*, and to it gave several pieces of Plate, the Catalogue of which, if the Reader think it worth his while, he may find in *Platina*. This Bishop is very much to be commended for his zeal against *Pelagianism*, and *Nestorianism*, for suppressing of which he took great pains and care, for sending *Palladius* and *Patricius* to convert the Northern Nations, as also for the suppressing the *Novatians* at *Rome*, from whom he took their Churches, and constrained *Rusticula* their Bishop to hold private Conventicles. For unto that time (saith *Socrates*) the *Novatians* flourished at *Rome*, enjoyed there many Churches, and had under them great Congregations. To this he adds this note: *But then they began to be hated out of measure, whenas the Bishop of* Rome (*no otherwise than the Bishop of* Alexandria) *passing the Bounds of his Priestly Order, presumed now to challenge to himself Secular Power and Authority.* Besides his Epistles and the Decrees therein contained, *Gratian* hath four which are hardly worth relating, onely one of them inflicts punishment upon the Bishop or Priest that should lye with the Woman whose Confession they heard, which Custome, to prevent the like villany, had been formerly abrogated by *Nectarius* of *Constantinople*. There are extant of his two Epistles to the Bishops of *Gall*; one to them of *Apulia* and *Calabria*, and the fragment of another to the *Ephesine* Council. To him succeeded *Xistus* or *Sixtus* of that Name, the third Son of *Sixtus* a *Roman*, *April* the twenty sixth, the See having been vacant twenty days.

Platina.

Urspergensis.

Who does many good things.

Lib. 7. c. 11.

And is succeeded by *Sixtus*.

Several *Jews* deceived by an Impostour.

16. About this time many *Jews* in *Crete* being deceived by an Impostour, who told them he was *Moses*, and was come the second time to conduct them through the Sea to the Land of Promise, cast themselves into the Water. Some perished, others were saved by Fishermen, and the rest convinced of their credulity by the sad example of their Fellows, kept themselves on dry land, and all that remained alive, convinced by such a calamity, renounced Judaism, and imbraced the Christian Faith. The year following, a Synod of fifty six Bishops was held in *Rome*; the occasion was, *Sixtus* the Bishop his being accused by *Bassus* and *Marinianus* of having defiled *Chrysogenites* a Nun: but he was absolved in the presence of *Valentinian* the Emperour, and *Placidia* his Mother. The cause of his absolution some make the speech of an *Exconsul*, who said, that Sentence ought not to be passed against the Bishop of *Rome*; which words *Sixtus* catching at, said, It was indeed in his Power whether or no he would be Judged, yet would he not but that the truth should be brought to light. By this seeming Piety and Humility the Emperour was so moved, that he referred the business wholly to *Sixtus*, who now become both Judge and Party, condemned both his Accusers, neither upon their repentance to receive them to favour, when one of them pleaded that Christ teacheth us thus to pray, *Forgive us our trespasses as we forgive them that trespass against us*; he replying, that it was also written that the sin aganst the Holy Ghost should neither be forgiven in this World, nor that which is to come. *Bassus*, as Principal in the slander was Banished, and his estate seized to the use of the Church, three months after which he died, and then the Bishop, as it seems, relenting, caused him to be Imbalmed, and (as *Platina* tells us) with his own hands Buried him near to St. *Peter* in the Sepulchre of his Ancestours. At this same time *Sixtus* accused *Polychronius* the Bishop of *Jerusalem*, as having for a Reward in Money ordained several Bishops and Ministers, and caused him for some time to be suspended from his Function, being condemned by this *Roman* Synod. It's reported he was angry with him for having once said that it was more fitting the City of *Jerusalem* should obtain the preeminence than *Rome*, being the place where Christ taught and suffered, and where the Holy Ghost was sent down first upon the Disciples. But in a time when *Jerusalem* was Besieged, this Bishop selling his Lands, and distributing the price amongst the Poor, *Sixtus* procured the Emperour to restore him to his Bishoprick.

Socrat. lib. 7. c. 37.

A Synod held at *Rome*.

Tom. Concil.

Platina Hist. Magdeb. Cent. 5. c. 10.

Polychronius Bishop of *Jerusalem* suspended.

Maximianus, Bishop of *Constantinople* dies.

17. The year following being the Four Hundred Thirty Fourth of Our Lord, the twenty seventh of *Theodosius* II. and the tenth of *Valentinian* III. *Maximianus* the

Socrat. lib. 7. cap. 39.

the Patriarch of *Constantinople* deceased, after he had peaceably governed the Church the space of two years and five months, in the Consulship of *Arebindus* and *Aspares* on *Good-Friday*, being the twelfth of *April*. *At that time* (they are the words of *Socrates*) Theodosius *the Emperour plaid a very wise part. For lest tumult and dissension should again be raised in the Church, without any delay, whilst the Corpse of* Maximianus *was above ground, he procured the Bishops then present to enstall* Proclus *in the Bishop's See. To this end the Letters of* Cœlestinus *Bishop of* Rome *were brought unto* Cyril *Bishop of* Alexandria, *unto* John *Bishop of* Antioch, *and* Rufus *Bishop of* Thessalonica, *certifying them that there was no cause to the contrary: but that one either already nominated Bishop of some certain City, or installed in some proper See, might be translated to another Bishoprick.* These be the words of *Socrates*, who spends a whole Chapter upon occasion of the repulse formerly given to *Proclus*, on purpose to prove that it was neither against the Canons, nor example of ancient times, for a Bishop to be translated from one See to another, and reciting the pretended Canon, plainly shews it meant no such thing as to inhibit such a removal. Let the Reader then consider how truly *Baronius* affirms that *Socrates* saith this Translation of *Proclus* was made by dispensation of the Bishop of *Rome*, because the Canons forbad such Translations, and concludes from *Sixtus* his interposing his Judgment and Advice to a Right and Jurisdiction. This same year *Vincentius* a *Gall* by birth, who having past over the prime of his Youth in Secular warfare and business relating to the World, afterwards had betaken himself to a Monastical kind of life in *Leria*, an Island of the *Icarian* Sea, whence he had the Sirname of *Lerinensis*, wrote a notable Commentary against all Hereticks, for the antiquity and universality of the Catholick Faith, which *Baronius* saith was very accommodate to these times whereof we write, and will be profitable against Innovatours in all Ages. This we most readily must admit, out of respect to his great κειμηλιον of Catholick Doctrine, that famous saying of his, that *We ought to hold fast that which* by all, always *and* in all places *hath been believed, this being truly and properly Catholick, as the force of the word and reason it self doth declare, all which it truly and universally comprehendeth.* Observable also is his Opinion, that *The Canon of the Scriptures is over and above sufficient in all respects.* By these Rules let all Innovatours be Tried, Absolved or Condemned.

Proclus is translated thither.

Cap. 35.

Vincentius Lerinensis in Præf. Anno 30. ab Ephesina Synodo.

In ipsa Catholica Ecclesia magnopere curandum est, ut id teneamus quod Ubique, *quod* Semper, *quod* ab Omnibus, *creditum: hoc est enim verè proprièque Catholicum, quod ipsa vis nominis, ratióque declarat, quæ omnia verè universaliter comprehendit, cap. 3.* * *Scripturarum Canon solus sufficit ad omnia satis superque. c. 41.*

The Books of *Nestorius* burnt.

18. The next year, or the Four Hundred Thirty Fifth of Our Lord, were the Books of *Nestorius*, which he had written in exile, condemned to be burnt by an Edict of *Theodosius*. And when he himself was so far from amendment, that by his tenacious principles he infused venome, and raised commotions wherever he came; the year following he was removed from the Monastery of *Euprepius*, two Furlongs distant from *Antioch*, to *Petræ*, a place in the Wilderness of *Oasis*. Being afterward (as *Euagrius* tells us) set at liberty by the People called *Blemmyes* in *Libya*, and *Theodosius* having by his Edicts ordained he should return, as he wandred from place to place about the farthest Part of *Thebais*, bruising and beating himself to the ground, he had such an end as was agreeable to the life he had formerly led, and thereby shewed himself a second *Arius*. For, as this Authour relates, (after a recitation of his complaining Letters to the Governour of *Thebais*) from his *Amanuensis*, when he could not be brought to any reason or humility by all his miseries, but rather spurned against the Authority of the Emperour and his Magistrates, his Tongue was eaten off by Worms, and so by the just Judgment of God he passed, saith he, from bodily to spiritual, from those temporal to eternal punishments. The ensuing year was a great Persecution raised against Orthodox Christians in *Africk* by *Genserick* the *Arian* King of the *Wandals*, wherein *Arcadius*, *Probus*, *Paschesius* and *Eutychus*, Noble *Spaniards*, received the Crown of Martyrdom. The next after this being the Four Hundred Thirty Eighth of Our Lord, and the sixteenth Consulship of *Theodosius*, *January* the twenty eighth, the Corpse of St. *John Chrysostome* was translated from *Comanum* to *Constantinople* five and thirty years after his deposition. The occasion, as *Socrates* tells the story, was a great desire that *Proclus* the Patriarch had to reconcile to the Church such as upon the scandal of his sufferings had separated themselves, whom to oblige he perswaded the Emperour to translate his Body, and with great Pomp and Reverence to place it in the Apostles Church; by which means those that formerly

Cod. Th. de Hæret. l. ult. & Acta Conc. Ephes.

Lib. 1. c. 7.

His miserable death.

A Persecution in *Africk*.

Prosper. in Chron.

The Corpse of *Chrysostome* translated to *Constantinople*.

formerly had separated themselves were reduced to order, and became conformable. Thus is the naked story told by him, to whom do assent * *Theodoret*, † *Marcellinus* the great ‖ Menology, their * *Roman* Martyrology, and others.

19. But his Body being (*a*) translated from *Constantinople* to *Rome*, to make his Reliques of more value, they have made the manner of his Translation very miraculous. *Nicephorus* relates the Summ of it, borrowing it, as *Baronius* (*b*) doth not obscurely hint, from the Luculent Oration of one *Cosmas Vestiarius*, Whether a *Vatican* or *Baronian* Authour, so ignoble and unworthy, that *Possevine* judged him not worthy to be named in his *Bibliotheca*, or reckoned amongst his *Testes Veritatis*. Yet out of this Tailor's Oration (saith our Great *Crackanthorp*) hath the Cardinal sticht a very pretty Anile, whereof the Summ is this: *Proclus* making a Panegyrical Oration in praise of *Chrysostome*, the People were so inflamed with a longing desire after him, that they interrupted the Bishop, and not suffering him to make an end of his Sermon, cried out with many Vociferations, that they would have *Chrysostome* and his Reliques. *Proclus* herewith sore moved, prevailed with the Emperour to send divers Senatours, nay some say an Army with Clerks and Monks to fetch his Body from *Comana*, where it was kept in a silver Coffin. Once and again, nay very often they labour and strive with their whole might and skill to lift up the Coffin, but all in vain, the sacred Body being no more moveable than a Rock. Of this therefore they certifie the Emperour, who calling *Proclus* and other holy Men seriously to advise about the matter, they counsel him to write a Letter to *Chrysostome*, in way of a Petition, asking him forgiveness for the Sins which *Arcadius* his Father had committed against him, and most humbly to beseech him that he would return to *Constantinople*, and re-assume his See, praying him withall no longer to afflict them by his absence, being not onely desirous of his Body, but of his Ashes, yea of his shadow. This the Emperour religiously performed, writing a Letter or Petition expressed both by *Nicephorus* and *Baronius*, though both the Cardinal and the Tailour *Cosmas* be unwilling to give to *Chrysostome* the Title of Patriarch and *Pater Patrum*, which *Nicephorus* as his due ascribes unto him. The Emperour's Letters were brought to the dead Corpse, and with great Reverence laid upon the Breast of *Chrysostome*, which done the next day with ease the Priests took up the Body, and bringing it to *Constantinople*, placed it in the Church of the *Holy Apostles*.

* *Lib.* 5. *c.*36.
† *In Chron.*
‖ *Die* 27. *Jan.*
* *Die* 27. *Jan.*
(*a*) *Martyrolog. Rom. Inde postea Romam translata est.*
(*b*) *Ad An.* 438. *& in Annot. ad Martyrol. Rom.*

The miraculous manner of its Translation.

20. Here first, as the Cardinal relateth from *Nicephorus*, the Emperour with the People made an humble Prayer for his Parents, and more especially intreated for his Mother, that her Grave which had shaken and been sick of a Palsie, and made a noise and ratling for thirty five years, might now at length cease; and the Holy man heard the request and granted it; the Graves Palsie was cured, so that it shaked no more. After this did *Proclus* place dead *Chrysostome* in the same See and Episcopal Seat with himself, all the People applauding and crying, *O Father Chrysostome receive thy See*; then by a Miracle beyond the Degree of Admiration, the Lips of *Chrysostome* (five and thirty years after he was laid in his Grave) opened and blessed all the People, saying *Peace be unto you*; and thus both the Patriarch *Proclus*, and the People standing by testified that they heard. Such is the Relation of *Baronius* from *Nicephorus* and *Cosmas* his Tailour, a story which puts down *Heliodorus*, *Orlando*, and all the Fictions of the Poets. Not to stand to refute such a lying legend, the Cardinal's Friends may consult *Tilmannus* their *Carthusian* Monk, and see the Censure he gives of it, and of *Nicephorus* the onely Authour he knew, till *Baronius* pull'd this blind Tailour out of a Corner. *Though I believe*, saith he, *God to be omnipotent, yet I believe not all which is here written of Chrysostome. Let the Reader chuse whether he will believe it or not, for the Writers of Mens Lives who lived before* Nicephorus (and he writ not till about the year 1328) *would not have concealed or smothered in silence a matter of so great moment.* This his Judgment is the more weighty because there is no Ancient Father (I speak it confidently saith our Dr. *Crackanthorp*) that hath had more fabulous Writers than are *Palladius* (as he is called) *Leo* and *George* the Writers, or rather Devisers of *Chrysostom*'s Acts, his Life and Death. Any one of them doting after such miraculous Reports, would have painted out this Miracle of Miracles with all the wit and words they had. That which I onely observe is, the strange, and if you please, miraculous lewd dealing of *Baronius*. This Epistle of *Theodosius*, though it was written to *Chrysostome* more than thirty years after his Death, the Cardinal approves, applauds, and for a rare Monument commends it, and all that appendant

Ipse Chrysostomus labiis rursum apertis ad Populum dixisse fertur Pax *vobis, Cosmas apud Bar. ubi suprà.*
Paræneſis Carthusiani post vitam Chrysostomi.

dant fable to all Posterity. Why? It is an excellent story, indeed to perswade the Adoration of Reliques, Innovation of Saints, Prayers for the Dead and such like. Had the Epistle of *Theodoret* (hereafter to be mentioned) contained such stuff, it should have had every way the like applause from his Cardinalship, because it wants such matters, and crosseth in very many things the Cardinal's Annals; oh! it is nothing but a Fiction, and a very forgery of some naughty Varlet. Thus Dr. *Crackanthorp*, upon occasion of Translation of St. *Chrysostome*'s Bones.

On the fifth Council.

21. We have not for many years heard any thing of the Pagans, and their Superstition, which it might be expected before this time should have dwindled into nothing, Christianity having so long been the owned and legal Religion. But notwithstanding all former Laws, and the Example aswell as incouragement of the Emperours, yet did Satan find some holes wherein to creep, and upon occasion shew himself more publickly, as the Comportment of Affairs would permit. At this time when the distresses of the Western Empire must necessarily afford greater Liberty to Souldiers, we find that *Cyrus* the Commander of the *Roman* Army, now when *Carthage* was besieged, was of that superstitious perswasion, being afterward honoured with the *Prefectship* of the *Prætorium* and the *Consulship*. *Littorius* also who commanded the *Hunns*, was addicted to the predictions of the *Aruspices*, and more than this the *Pagans* were so bold, as publickly to offer Sacrifice. As this practice grieved the Fathers of the Church, and drew forth several Pieces declaming against such impious practices from *Cyril*, *Salvian*, *Chrysologus* and others, so *Theodosius* in the year 439 on the last Day of *January*, published an Edict against *Pagans*, *Samaritans*, *Jews* and *Hereticks*, which subjects them to divers pains and forfeitures. And not onely did *Paganism* recover in some measure its dying strength at this time, but the *Arian* Heresie again became rampant in *Africk*, where a very great Persecution was raised against the Orthodox Christians, after the taking of *Carthage* by the *Wandals*, who were infected with that Venome. *Quod vult Deus*, the Bishop of that City presently after it was taken, and a great Company of his Clerks were put into leaking Ships and committed to the Mercy of the Sea, which yet by God's mercy transmitted them to *Naples* in *Campania*. The ordinary Rule was, either to quit the Countrey or remain in perpetual slavery; yet this good came of so great an evil, that Paganism which had endured the shocks of so many Edicts was quite cast down, and pulled up by the roots at *Carthage*, where they utterly defaced the Temple of Memory, and the *Via Cœlestis*.

An Edict against Pagans, &c.

Theod. Nov. Tit. 3.

Victor de persec. Vandal.

The Temple of Memory, and the *Via Cœlestis* at *Carthage* demolished.

22. About this time died *Folinus* Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*, into whose room the Citizens desiring *Proclus* the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, that another might be elected, when he mused with himself, whom he should assign them for their Bishop, and on *Saturday* was in the Church for that purpose, all the Senatours came thither to see whom he would elect, and amongst the rest *Thalassius* the *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Illyricum*, on whom he pitched, and ordained him Bishop of that See, whereat though the Emperour at first fretted, yet afterward as *Nicephorus* writes, he confirmed the Election. Here *Socrates* tells us he will cut off and make an end of his History, consisting of seven Books, of which the last contains the Ecclesiastical Affairs of two and thirty years, the whole work comprising those of an hundred and forty, beginning at the first year of the 271. *Olympiad*, when *Constantine* was proclaimed Emperour, and ending the second of the three hundred and fifth (more rightly the third of the three hundreth and fourth) and the 17 Consulship of *Theodosius Augustus*. In his Collections he was not Indiligent, though *Euagrius* accuseth him of Oscitancy, very partial toward the *Novatians*, a *Greek* by Birth, and born at *Constantinople*. To this same year also being the 439 year of our Lord, *Hermias Sozomenus* of *Salamina* continued his History, as himself affirmeth in his Preface, which plainly shews much of the latter end of that work to be lost. *Gregory* the Great Bishop of *Rome* tells us, that his See received not his History, because in many things he lies, and he too much commends *Theodorus* the Bishop of *Mopsuestia*. *Melchior Canus* tells him his Memory failed him, for they are *Theodoret*'s words which he cites for *Sozomen*'s, and *Baronius* answers in his behalf, that though in such matters as *Gregory* excepts against, he be not to be received, yet neither to be rejected in other matters, the Cardinal being the rather of this opinion, because Pope *Gelasius* receiveth him, and accounts him more worthy of credit than *Eusebius*, as *Photius* values him above *Socrates*. To this may be added from *Canus*, that his Testimony was both cited and approved

Folinus Bishop of *Cæsarea* dies.

Thalassius succeeds him.

L. 14. *c.* 42

Lib. 6. *Ep.* 31.

proved in the *Florentine Council* at which *Palæologus* was present. To these times also *Theodoret* (of whom we shall have too much occasion to speak more hereafter) continued his History consisting of five Books, the Style of which is more Historical than either that of *Socrates*, *Sozomen* or *Euagrius* in the opinion both of *Photius* and *Vossius*. These *Greek* Authours were first Translated into *Latin* by *Epiphanius* an eloquent Man, and the friend of *Cassiodorus*, who having procured this to be done, of them three he composed the Tripartite History, lest eloquent *Greece*, as he saith, should insult above those of the West, injoying those necessaries which they wanted.

Divin. Lect. c.5 & 17. quos à viro Epiphanio disertissimo in uno corpore 12 Libris fecimus Deo auxiliante transferri: ne insultet habere se facunda Græcia necessarium quod vobis indicet esse subtractum. pag. 901. Edit. Genevæ. 1622.

A Synod held at *Rhegium* in the Province of *Narbone*.

23. This same year or that following was a Provincial Synod of thirteen Bishops held at *Rhegium* in the Province of *Narbone*. Of which are 7 obscure Canons extant. The fifth of them ordains that upon the death of a Bishop, the Neighbour Bishop at the time of the Funeral shall come and take care of the Church, till the place be legally fitted. The last commands that Bishops, all excuse set apart, fail not to meet twice in the year. The ensuing year being the 440 of our Lord, on the 28*th*. of *March* died *Sixtus* the *Roman* Bishop, when he had governed that Church eight years wanting 30 days. He built a stately Church to the honour of the Blessed Virgin called *Maria Major*, as appeared to *Platina* by an Inscription upon an Arch. How he furnished it at his great Cost, the Reader if he please may find in that Writer, as that he spent all he had either this way, or in his Liberality to the Poor, making his own Eyes his Executours, and having ordained 28 Priests, 12 Deacons and 52 Bishops was buried in a Vault in the *via Tiburtina*, by the Body of St. *Laurence*. This being vacant more than forty days, at length, on the 10*th*. of *May* was *Leo* a Deacon of the *Roman* Church, chosen for Bishop and Pastour of it. He was a *Tuscan* born and the Son of *Quintianus*. Having very good natural parts he adorned them in his Youth by good Literature: using himself to declaiming, by that constant exercise he became very eloquent, being also studied in Divinity above most of his time. Under *Sixtus* who made good use of his Abilities in his defence against *Bassus*, he was sent upon several messages of importance, and was now absent having been dispatched into *Gall*, to compose the difference betwixt *Aetius* and *Albinus* two eminent *Roman* Captains. The year following had for Consul alone *Cyras* the Pagan of whom we lately spake, who at length being disgraced by *Theodosius* the Emperour turned Christian, took Orders, and as *Nicephorus* tells us was made Bishop of *Smyrna*. He was an excellent Poet, and pleased thereby *Eudocia* the Empress to such a degree (for this Lady was a great Friend and Servant of the Muses) that thinking him worthy of the greatest countenance. She brought him in, and gave occasion to his Advancement to so great Honours.

Tom. 2. Conc.

Prosper.

Sixtus Bishop of *Rome* dies.

Leo Succeeds him.

Another Synod held at *Orange*.

24. This same year which was the 441 of our Lord, was another Provincial Synod held at *Orange*, or *Aransio* in *Gall*, in the Province of *Narbone*, called *Concilium Aransicanum*, whereof are extant 29 Canons of no great importance, besides a form of Excommunication, and another of Absolution, ascribed by *Gratian* to this Synod. The form of Excommunication is this: (*a*) *Following the Canonical Institutions and Examples of the Holy Fathers, by the Authority of God and Judgment of the Holy Ghost, we banish from the Bosome of our Holy Mother, the Church, and the Society of all Christians the violaters or Robbers of God's Churches. Till they repent and give satisfaction to the Church of God.* Here the Gloss moves the Question whether all Sacrilegious Persons be excommunicate *ipso Jure*, and resolves it in the affirmative onely as to those violatours. As for the manner of Reconciliation. (*b*) *When any Excommunicated or Anathematized Person asketh pardon and promiseth amendment: the Bishop that Excommunicated him ought to come to the Church Door, and twelve Priests to stand about him, as also those against whom the offence was committed, and now are to be repaired, who if they have been already satisfied and thereof to give Testimonial; Then let the Bishop demand of him if he be willing to undergoe such penance as the Canons do enjoyn to his offences. And if he being prostrate on the ground do ask pardon, confess*

(*a*) *Canonica instituta & Sanctorum Patrum exempla sequentes, Ecclesiarum Dei violatores auctoritate Dei & studio sancti Spiritus à gremio sanctæ matris Ecclesiæ & à consortio totius Christianitatis eliminamus quoad usq; resipiscant & Ecclesiæ Dei satisfaciant. Can. 11. Qu. III. c. CVII.*

(*b*) *Cùm aliquis Excommunicatus, &c. c. CVIII.*

fess his fault, desire penance and give caution for the future, then let the Bishop lead him by the right hand into the Church, and restore him to Christian Communion and Society, then sing the seven Penitential Psalms with these Prayers, Kyrie Eleison, Pater noster, salvum fac servum tuum: *then this Prayer grant Lord we beseech thee to this thy Servant fruit worthy of Repentance, that obtaining Remission of sins he may be restored guiltless to thy Church from the integrity of which by sinning he had deviated. Through*, &c. Upon this the Gloss notes that an Heretick is also to give Oath that he will no more transgress, as also all guilty of so grievous Crimes. And forasmuch as at this day by virtue of later Laws, Excommunication may be pronounced in one simple word, so also Absolution, it being a Rule that every thing may be dissolved or ended by the same causes by which it was made or received its being. After this in the collection of Councils follows how the Bishop is to make publick his Reconciliation. *Extran. de Reg. Juris Omnis ret.*

Another at *Vaison.*

25. The next year, or the 442 of our Lord, was another Provincial Synod of the Province of *Narbone* held at *Vasio* a Town of the *Vocontii Salyones*, at this day *Vaison*, the Canons whereof, as *Baronius* observes, being altogether uncertain are confounded with those of another Council held at this place in the days of *Constantius*, a Third in the Reign of *Decius Junior* in the year 463. About this time (some two years after) died *Cyril* the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, having governed that See 32 years leaving a good name behind him to all posterity. For his manifold Learning as well Divine, as Humane, his painfulness in Preaching and Writing against all Hereticks and Pagans, and his great zeal in governing his flock. After his death *Theodoret* the Bishop of *Cyrus* is said to have written an Epistle to *John* Bishop of *Antioch* wherein he exceedingly rejoyceth for the death of *Cyril*, and prates in such a manner that it may more truly be called a Satyr or an infamous Libel than a Letter. This Epistle is inserted near the last end of the fifth Collation of the fifth Synod; yet *Binius* esteems it no better than the forgery of some wicked and obscure Heretical Eutychian, and by fraud and surreption thrust into the Acts of that Council. *Baronius* more than once passeth upon it the same censure, avowing it to be the figment of some *Nestorian* Heretick and giving him the Lye that should say it was *Theodoret's*. The reason is, for that *John* the Patriarch of *Antioch* to whom this Epistle is directed, was dead several years before *Cyril*, *Baronius* demanding how *Theodoret* could write to *John* about the death of *Cyril* seeing *John* was dead seven years before him, which, saith the Cardinal, is sure and certain both by *Nicephorus* and others, who write the succession of Bishops, as also by an Epistle which *Cyril* writ to *Domnus* the Successour of *John*, both which proofs *Binius* also alledgeth. With both these Champions, our as Learned Dr. *Crackanthorp* grapleth, and with what success (for nothing can be added to the strength of his Arguments) the impartial Reader shall be Judge.

Cyril Patriarch of *Alexandria* dyes.

Liberatus. Nicephorus.

Theodoret's Epistle to *John* of *Antioch* urged by *Binius* and *Baronius* as a Figment.

Bin. in 5 Concil.

Which is answered by Dr. *Crackanthorp.*

26. His first answer is that if this be a Demonstration of forgery because an Epistle is written to one that is dead, the Papists themselves and not we shall be the greatest losers thereby. For, first there is a Decretal Epistle written by *Clement* Bishop of *Rome*, to *James* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, the Brother of our Lord, wherein he tells him that "*Peter* being ready to be Martyred took *Clement*, ordained him Bishop, gave him the Keys, and seating him in his own Chair said unto him, O *Clemens*, I beseech thee before all that are here present that thou write unto *James* the Brother of our Lord, how thou hast been my Companion in my Travels and Actions from the first beginning, write also what thou hast heard me Preach in every City, what order I have used in my Preaching, and how I end my life in this City. And fear not that he will be sorry for my death, for he will not at all doubt but I die for Pieties sake, nay it will be a great comfort to him to hear that I leave not my charge to one that is ignorant or unlearned. This and much more wrote *Clement* to *James*, after his death, and of the life and death of *Peter*. Now *James* to whom he wrote was dead, six or seven years before *Peter*, *James* being slain in the seventh, and *Peter* in the thirteenth year of *Nero*, as out of St. *Jerome*, *Eusebius*, *Josephus* and others is evident, and *Baronius* and *Binius* not onely profess but rightly prove; nay more, because this Decretal Epistle and Apostolical writing, as *Turrian* calls it was not sent from Pope *Clement* till the tenth year of *Domitian* as is proved by *Baronius*, it followeth that it was not writ to *James* till thirty years after his death. Yet notwithstanding must not this Epistle be rejected as a forgery. *Binius* calls it the Epistle of Pope *Clement*, *Baronius* affirms that it is not onely Pope *Clement's*, but that this and the other written to the same *James* the dead Bishop of *Jerusalem* are his intire and incorrupted writings. In their Canon its vouched for no less,

Epist. 1. Clem. tom. 1. conc. p. 25. &c.

Ad A. D. 93. num. 2.

Ep. 1. Clem. Pap.

less, and that what is there related must stand for the words and Doctrine of St. *Peter*, yea the Authority of it as of other Decretal Epistles is affirmed every way equal to the Canons of *Nice*, of *Chalcedon*, and other holy Councils; nay farther what St. *Austin* saith of the very sacred and Canonical Scriptures indited certainly by the Spirit of God himself, that doth *Gratian* (wretchedly abusing his words) apply to this and the rest of the Popes Decretal Epistles saying that *They are to be reckoned amongst the Canonical Scriptures*, which *Bellarmine* not onely defends in general, but by the Authority of *Ruffinus* defends this to be the true Epistle of *Clement* to St. *James*. More particularly the Jesuite *Turrian* to whom *Baronius*, *Binius*, *Gretzor* and others refer us for the credit of these Epistles, has writ a whole Book in defence of them all, wherein he calls them most holy, most true Epistles, most worthy of their Authours (in particular mentioning and defending this of *Clement* to *James*) that is Men Apostolick, consecrated by the Reverence of the whole World, full of all Gravity, Learning and Sanctity, confirmed by the Testimony and use of all Ages: and which is most pertinent to our present purpose, the Jesuite words it thus: *What if in these Epistles sometimes we meet with such matters as are not easie to all? must we therefore doubt of their Authority? by no means.*

Dist. 80. c. 2. & 6. qu. 1. c. 5.
11. Qu. 3. c. 12. 6. qu. 1. c. 5. Dist. 20. Can. Decretales.
Lib. 2. de Doctr. Christiana c. 8.
Pro epist. Pontificum. lib. 2. præf. p. 152. &c.

27. If any Man therefore understand not how the Epistle of *Clement* could be written to St. *James* who was dead so long before, such an one according to his Doctrine, if a learned, modest and temperate Man must ask of others, and in the mean time contain himself within his own bounds, that is, he must as the Jesuit explaineth it, so firmly believe it to be written by *Clement* that he esteems it a great sin to doubt thereof. But besides this *Turrian* hath writ a large Chapter on purpose to defend this Epistle to be truly *Clement*'s though written to *James* long after his death, whereas some there were (followed by *Baronius*, *Possenine* and *Binius*) who thought it to be written indeed by *Clement* not unto *James* but to *Simeon* his Successour. Against those, he held that it was writ to none but *James*, and whereas some would think it madness to write to one that was dead (for who should be carrier of the Letter) especially to write to him as a Governour in the Church militant and to advise him what he should doe. *Turrian* tells you of divers great and weighty reasons why St. *Peter* commanded *Clement*, and why *Clement* wrote to a dead Man, and having given very wise and worthy reasons thereof, one taken from Transfiguration, another from imitation, a third from voiding hatred which he would have incurred had he writ to any alive, a fourth to be a Testimony of the Resurrection; and such like; at length he concludes that no Catholicks must doubt of the truth of this Epistle though they see no reason why it should be written to a dead Man; and withall that with Men who have reason and Judgment, such must assure themselves both that St. *Peter* and *Clement* knew reasons for writing to a dead Man. Both the Cardinal therefore and *Binius*, had they been Men of reason and Judgment, and considered this tract of *Turrian* to which they refer us, might therein have seen divers reasons why *Theodoret* might write to *John* though he was dead, they being as forcible to defend this Epistle of *Theodoret* as to excuse *Clement* for writing to St. *James*. But the cause is now altered, the Cardinals Demonstration holding in those things alone which distaste him, or make for us and against their cause. But if any such writing bring, as all the Decretals do, either honour to the *Roman* See, or gain to that Court, though they were writ to one that was dead, not seven onely but seven times seven years before, they shall be honoured as the true and undoubted threatnings of the Authours. If any one scruple to yield his assent to this truth let him but add to this the other Example about *Chrysostome*'s bones, the writing of a Letter to that Patriarch thirty five years after his death by the Emperour *Theodosius*, and he will find it such an one as cuts all the Sinews, yea the hartstrings of the Cardinals Demonstration. He must confess it either to be fallacious or proclaim the Epistle of Pope *Clement* and the other of *Theodosius* with that whole narration to be fictitious, and the Cardinals Annals a Fabulous Legend.

28. The Doctours second answer is that though *John* was dead to whom the Epistle was directed, yet that onely proves the Title or inscription to be amiss, or that *Theodoret* wrote not this Epistle to *John*; it cannot prove (which the Cardinal undertook to doe) that the Epistle is forged and not written by *Theodoret*. For that it was truly *Theodoret*'s own Sermon publickly preached at *Antioch* before *Domnus* after the death of *Cyril*, and mentioned in the Synodal Acts next after this Epistle, doth clearly manifest the very scope and purpose of that Sermon being the same which is expressed in the Epistle. As in the *Col. 5. p. 559.*

Epistle

Epistle *Theodoret* declareth his eagerness for defending the Doctrine of *Nestorius*, and insulteth over dead *Cyril* as the chief Oppugner of that Heresie, the very same eagerness for *Nestorianism*, and love to his Heresies, as also the like joy for *Cyril's* death, doth his Sermon express, and that more fully with such Expressions as these: *None doth now compell any man to blaspheme*, seeing *Cyril* is dead, *Where are those who teach that God was Crucified. It was the man Christ and not God who was crucified. It was the man Jesus that died, and it was God the Word who raised him from the dead. Now there is no contention* (seeing *Cyril* is dead) *the East and Ægypt* (that is, aswell those who are under the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, as such as are subject to the Patriarch of *Antioch*) *are all under one Yoke*, or all submit themselves to one Faith, *viz. Nestorianism. Envy is now dead and all Contention dead and buried with him. Let now the* Theopaschites (that is the Catholicks who taught God to have suffered and died) *let them now be quiet.* Now who can imagine but that the Epistle which maintains the same Heresie, and insults in the same triumphing manner at the death of *Cyril* was written by *Theodoret* when he publickly in a Sermon before a Patriarch uttered the same Matter? Would he forbear to write that in a Letter which he neither did fear nor forbear to profess openly in a Sermon, and that in so solemn a place and Assembly? Or was *Theodoret* Orthodox, and a lover of *Cyril* in his Writings before his death (as *Baronius* alledgeth) who was Heretical and so big with *Nestorianism* after his death, that he must vent them, and with them disgorge his malice and spite in an open Pulpit, and such an Audience? It is not the Inscription or Title of the Epistle, but the Epistle it self, which the Fifth Council and we after it stand upon. But that they knew the Epistle to be *Theodoret's*, they needed not by it to have proved that he after the Union, yea, after the death of *Cyril*, was eager, violent, yea, virulent in defence of the Heresies of *Nestorius*, his Sermon had been a sufficient demonstration of that: But because they were sure this was the true Epistle of *Theodoret*; they thought good to testifie that he was the self same man in writing that he was in preaching, and in both a malitious *Nestorian*; that long after the Union made betwixt *John* and *Cyril*, yea after *Cyril's* death he continued both to write and speak the same.

29. Next the Doctour observeth the fraudulent dealing of *Baronius* and *Binius* in this Cause, who though they carp not at the Sermon, yet deny the Epistle, whereas though the Epistle had never been extant, yet the Cardinal's Position for *Theodoret's* Orthodoxy and Catholick Faith ever after the Union betwixt *John* and *Cyril* is clearly and certainly refuted by his Sermon made twelve years after the Union. Then whereas the Cardinal strongly urgeth the Epistles, which in their *Vaticane* or *Minthouse*, are stamped with the Name of *Theodoret*, to prove his Orthodoxy for six and twenty years, this Sermon alone convicts them of falsehood, wherein he Vomits out in a most Solemn Assembly, together with the Blasphemies of *Nestorius*, most slanderous Revilings, not onely against *Cyril*, at whose death he insulteth, but against all Catholicks, whom after the *Nestorian* Language he stiles *Theopaschites* and *Hereticks*: With such false, feigned and lying Writings doth the Cardinal fight against the Fifth Synod and the Acts thereof. After this to meet with the Objection which *Baronius* might make against the Epistle from the falseness of its Superscription, by many Instances our Authour proveth an Epistle may be true, when yet the Title is false and erroneous. As 1st. in the Epistle of *Clement* to *James*, the Inscription whereof, though both he and *Binius* confess to be false, yet held the Letter it self to be *Clement's*. Excusing it they say it was onely an errour in writing *James* instead of *Simeon*, and had they not been too malitious against the Fifth Synod, they would as easily have said the Epistle is truly his but in the Inscription, in the Acts, the Name of *John* is by the Writers mistaken for that of *Domnus*. 2. In *Theodoret's* History and the *Venice* Edition of the Councils by *Nicholinus* Pope *Damasus* is said to have writ an Epistle to *Paulinus* Bishop of *Thessalonica*, whereas it ought to be read, as *Baronius* and *Binius* confess, Bishop of *Antioch*. 3. The sixteenth Novel of *Justinian* is directed to *Anthimus* Bishop of *Constantinople*, whereas *Mennas* at that time governed that See. 4. The Epistle of *Fœlix* the fourth to *Sabina*, was dated on the twelfth of the Calends of *November*, at which time *Fœlix* was dead, whose Name as the Cardinal saith might easily creep in for that of *Boniface* his Successour. By several other instances not necessary here to be expressed, doth he make the Cardinal's Exception against this Epistle of *Theodoret* very ridiculous.

Ad An. 318. *Ad Concil. sub Damaso.*

Ad An. 530.

30. And no less ridiculous doth he shew the Cardinal's reasons to be why *John*

died before *Cyril*. He confesseth it true that *John* did die before him, because of many undoubted testimonies of the Council of *Chalcedon*, not one of which the Cardinal had the grace to alledge, but his reasons are so weak, and withall so full of fraud and untruth, that the Doctour counts it worthy of consideration to see his blindness and perverseness, even in proving that which is true. He first tells us: *I have shewed this most manifestly that* John *died seven years before* Cyril, *by the Epistle which* Theodoret *wrote to* Domnus *four years since* (that is four before this year 444) *in the behalf of one* Fælicianus, *whose estate* Theodoret *recommends to* Domnus. The Doctour observes how egregious a trifler the Cardinal hath shewed himself hereby. For neither in the four hundred and fortieth, nor in any four years either before or after that doth he set down any Epistle of *Theodoret*'s to *Domnus* in behalf of *Fælicianus*. The Epistle which the Cardinal dreameth of, is in behalf of *Cælestianus*, and that is indeed expressed *Ann.* 440. where note, I pray, that the Cardinal by a slip either of his own Pen or Memory (as I verily suppose) or of his Scribe, names *Fælitianus* instead of *Cælestianus*. God even by this demonstrating how unjustly he carps at the Synodal Acts, for that very errour or slip of a Pen, which the Cardinal himself falls into, even while he for the like slip declaimeth against these Holy Synodical Acts. And yet there's a worse fault in this Reason. For it is no more shewed that *John* died before *Cyril* by that Epistle than by *Tully's ad Atticum*. That Epistle having neither date nor any Circumstance to induce that, and may aswell be written *Ann.* 448. as 440. His second Reason is: There are Letters extant of *Theodoret* to *Domnus* the year following (*Ann.* 437.) and that Epistle I will set down in its due place, the next year. Now in the next year, *viz. Ann.* 437. there is no Epistle of *Theodoret* set down by the Cardinal, nor is either *Domnus* or *Theodoret* so much as named in all his discourse of that year. Is not this now shewed *most manifestly*; you may be sure he would not have feared to perform his promise, but that there was somewhat in that Epistle which would have bewrayed his lewd dealing in this Cause. His third Reason is drawn from the Testimony of *Nicephorus*, from whom he saith it is certain. No it is sure and certain by *Nicephorus* that *Baronius* is erronious in this matter, for he accounteth *John* to have been Bishop of *Antioch* 18 years, and the Cardinal will allow him no more than 13, now the first year of *John* cannot possibly be before the year 427, for in that year *Theodotus* his next Predecessour died, as *Baronius* himself proveth. Add now unto these 17 more, and then the death of *John* will be *Ann.* 444. which is the self same year wherein *Cyril* died.

Ad Ann. 444. *num.* 16.

31. But see farther, how the Cardinal is infatuated in this Cause. *John* (saith he) *died* Ann. 436. *having been Bishop* 13 *years*. John *succeeded to* Theodotus *who died* Ann. 427. Say now in truth is not the Cardinal a worthy Arithmetician, who of 427 and 13 can make no more than 436? And is not this a worthy reason to refuse *Nicephorus*? But this is not all, for *Baronius* glossing upon *Theodoret*'s Letter to *Dioscorus*, which, as he saith, was written *Ann.* 444, there observes with a Memorandum, that by this Passage of *Theodoret*, you may see how long *Theodotus*, *John* and *Domnus*, had sitten in the See of *Antioch*, *viz.* 26 years in all, from that time that *Theodotus* was made Bishop unto that year 444, *viz. Theodotus* 6, *John* 13, and *Domnus* 7, untill that year. *Theodotus*, as *Baronius* will assure you was made Bishop *Ann.* 423. Add now unto these 6 of *Theodotus*, 13 of *John*, and 7 of *Domnus*, and tell me, whither you think the Cardinal had sent his Wits when he could sum those to be just 444. Or will you see the very quintessence of the Cardinal's Wisedom? *I will* (saith he) *set down the next year* (viz. Ann. 437.) *the very Epistle of* Theodoret *to* Domnus, *which was then written unto him, and I will set down in his due place* (viz. Ann. 444.) *that Epistle of* Theodoret *to* Dioscorus, *whereby is shewed, that* John *was Bishop of* Antioch *just* 13 *years*. Thus the Cardinal, who by these two Epistles of *Theodoret* will prove both these. As much in effect as if he had said, I have already proved that *John* began to be Bishop of *Antioch* Ann. 427. and this being set down for a certainty; I will now prove by *Theodoret*'s Epistle to *Domnus*, that *John* died *Ann.* 436, that is, in his ninth year; and then I will prove again by *Theodoret*'s Epistle to *Dioscorus*, that he died in his thirteenth year, and so died not till the year 440. Or, as if he had thus said, I will first prove that mine own Annals are untrue, wherein it is said, that *John* died in the year 436, which is but the ninth year of *John*, because he died not, as *Theodoret* in one Epistle witnesseth, untill his thirteenth year, which is *Ann.* 440. And then I will prove unto you, that mine own Annals are again untrue, wherein it is said that *John* was Bishop 13 years, and so died not till *Ann.* 440. (beginning the first *Ann.* 427.) because *Theodoret* in another Epistle witnesseth, that *John* died

died *Ann.* 436. Or thus, I will first prove that *John* was dead *Ann.* 436, though he was alive *Ann.* 440, and then I will prove unto you that *John* was alive *Ann.* 440, though he was dead *Ann.* 436. Is not this brave dealing in the Cardinal? Is he not worthy of a Cap and Feather too, that can prove all these, and prove them by *Theodoret*'s Epistles? Or do you not think these to be worthy Epistles of *Theodoret*, by which such Absurdities, such Impossibilities may be proved?

32. Doth not this alone if there were no other evidence, demonstrate these Epistles of *Theodoret* to be Counterfeits? If that to *Domnus* be truely his as *Baronius* assures you, whereby *John* is said to have died *Ann.* 436, then certainly the other to *Dioscorus* must needs be a forgery, whereby *John* is shewed to live *Ann.* 440. Again if that to *Dioscorus* be truely his as *Baronius* assures you, wherein *John* is said to live 440, then certainly the other to *Domnus* must of necessity be a forgery, wherein *John* is said to be dead *Ann.* 436. And as either of these two Epistles demonstrates the untruth and forgery of the other, so they both demonstrate the great Vanity of *Baronius*, who applauds them both, and who will make good what they both affirm; that is the same Man to be both dead and alive, a Bishop and no Bishop at the self same time; and by these worthy Reasons doth the Cardinal refute his own witness, *Nicephorus*, who by giving eighteen years to *John*, shews plainly that *John* and *Cyril* died within one year, which account perhaps gave occasion to the Exscriber of the Synodal Acts to thrust in the Name of *John*, whom upon *Nicephorus* his account he thought to live after *Cyril*, whereas in very deed he died something before *Cyril*. His fourth and last Reason is drawn from a Canonical Epistle of *Cyril* to *Domnus*, set down in the additions to *Theodore Balsamon*, where he concludes it *out of doubt that John died, seeing one Cyril writ to his Successour Domnus*, yet are there two great doubts in it. The first whether that Epistle be truely *Cyril*'s, what the Cardinal brings being much against it, the Epistle ascribing so great Authority to *Domnus*, as to put out Bishops and restore them at his pleasure, quite contrary to the Canon of the Council of *Antioch*, which requires that the Metropolitan doe nothing in such Causes without the advice and consent of the other Bishops of that Province. The other doubt is whether *Domnus*, to whom this Epistle is written be *Domnus* Bishop of *Antioch*, and Successour to *John*. In removing hereof the Cardinal is much troubled, winding himself divers ways, and concluding that *He who had such Authority must needs be some eminent Bishop, and not one of an inferiour See*, although he might be a Metropolitan, though no Patriarch, and so have inferiour Bishops under him.

Concil. Antiocb. sub Julio i. Can. 9.

33. But he adds that, *There is no* Domnus *else, but this* Domnus *Bishop of* Antioch, *mentioned either in the Council of* Ephesus *or* Chalcedon, *who had such Authority as to depose and restore Bishops ad libitum.* But in such lawfull manner as *Domnus* of *Antioch* might doe it, there were others called by the Name of *Domnus* mentioned in those very Councils, who might upon just cause, and by due and Canonical proceeding, depose and restore their inferiour Bishops. Look but into these Councils, and you will admire both the supine Negligence of the Cardinal in this point, and his most audacious down-facing of the truth; for, to omit others both in the Conventicle of *Ephesus*, and the Council of *Chalcedon*, there is often mention of *Domnus* Bishop of *Apamea*, a Metropolitan Bishop. And that you may see how fraudulently the Cardinal dealt in this very point, he neither would set down that Epistle, nor acquaint you with that which in *Balsamon* is expresly noted; that *Peter* the Bishop, whom that *Domnus*, to whom *Cyril* writeth, had deposed, was *Alexandrinus Sacerdos*, a Bishop of the Patriarchate of *Alexandria*. Now what had *Domnus* of *Antioch* to doe with the *Alexandrian* Bishops? So clear it is by *Balsamon*, that this *Domnus*, to whom *Cyril* wrote, was not *Domnus* of *Antioch*, as the Cardinal I fear against his Knowledge avoucheth. But thus you see all the Reasons the Cardinal bringeth to prove *John* to be dead seven years before *Cyril*, not onely to be weak and unable to enforce that Conclusion, but also to be full fraught with frauds and untruths. So that if I had not found more sound and certain Reasons to perswade this, I could never by the Cardinal's proofs have been induced to think that an Errour in the Inscription of *Theodoret*'s Epistle. But seeing upon the undoubted Testimonies in the Council of *Chalcedon*, it is certain that *John* died before *Cyril*, I willingly acknowledge a slip of some Writer in that Inscription, but yet the Epistle it self must be acknowledged to be truely *Theodoret*'s, which is all that the Synod avoucheth, and that which the Cardinal undertook to disprove, but by no one Reason doth offer to prove the same. And even for that Errour also in the Inscription,

Act. 3. Conc. Chalc. p. 75. 6.

scription, I doubt not but those who can have a sight of the *Greek* and Original, nay perhaps some ancient Copies of the Acts of the fifth Council, shall find either no Name at all, or which I rather suppose, that of *Domnus* expressed therein; instead of which, though some ignorant audacious Exscriber hath thrust in the Name of *John*; it is not nor ought not to be any Impeachment at all to the Synodal Acts, unless the Cardinal will acknowledge his own Annals to be of no credit, because in them *Paschalis* is written by some such errour for *Pelagius*, *John* for *Vigilius*, *Justinus* for *Justinianus*, *Theodorus* for *Theodosius*, *Sexta* for *Quinta*, *Fælicianus* for *Cœlestianus*, and a Number the like in other Causes, most of these slips pertaining to this very Cause of the three Chapters of which we do entreat. Thus Dr. *Crackanthorp* the *Baroniomastix*, to whose Arguments nothing can be added, it's pity any thing should be detracted, but that we onely write an Institution. In due place we shall again hear of him.

To *Cyril* of *Alexandria* succeeded *Dioscorus*.

34. *Cyril* the Patriarch of *Alexandria* was succeeded by *Dioscorus*, of whom we may hear too much hereafter. *Leo* Bishop of *Rome*, in the mean time vigorously prosecuted the *Manichees*, as also *Valentinian* the Emperour, who by an Edict commanded them to be punished as sacrilegious Persons. At this same time *Leo* interposing himself into the Ecclesiastick Affair of *Gall*, was earnestly opposed by *Hilary* the Bishop of *Arles*, a Man very famous in this Generation, who being a Monk of the *Lerinensian* Monastery had for his Merit been promoted to the Archbishoprick of *Arles*. All he could get together he distributed to the Poor, and the better to inable himself to be charitable toiled much at Husbandry and Countrey-work, yet without neglect of his particular Calling. A year or two following died *Proclus*, Bishop of *Constantinople*, when he had governed that Church something above twelve years, and was succeeded by *Flavianus* a Priest of the same Church. Much about this time were held several Synods in *Spain* against the *Priscillianists*, of which one held at *Toledo* first added that Passage concerning the Holy Ghost to the Creed, *Proceeding from the Father and the Son*, which was not for a long time after received by the Church of *Rome*. The year following *Theodosius* the Emperour to appease the Wrath of God which much appeared at this time in the Desolations and Wastings of several Countries by the Invasion of the barbarous Nations as otherwise, published Laws against Heathens and *Nestorians* commanding the Books of *Porphyry*, and others made against the Writings of *Cyril* to be sought out and burned. But the Devil being driven out of this hold betook himself streight to another Device, and made use herein of the Zeal wherewith Catholicks were inflamed against *Nestorianism*, turning it so far into the other Extreme, as out of an extravagant desire to shun *Charybdis* they struck upon *Scylla* and made a change from one Heresie to another. The Ringleader of this Party was one *Eutyches* an Abbat or *Archimandrita*, as the *Greeks* called it, of *Constantinople*, who so far contended against two Persons in Christ, that he also denied two Natures. At first he said Christ was not Consubstantial with us according to the Flesh, but brought his Body with him from Heaven, afterward he held that the Natures which were before the Union two, and distinct each from other, after the Union became one and the same. According to the former Assertion *Theodoret* tells us he revived the Heresie of *Valentinus*, who imagined that the Son of God took nothing from the Virgin, but being made flesh passed onely through her Body, *Eutyches* began to publish this his Opinion to the World in or about the year of our Lord 448, the Consulship of *Flavius Posthumianus* and *Flavius Zeno*.

Novel. Valen. Tit. 2. de Manich.

Prosper. Gennadius. alii.

Proclus of *Constantinople* dies. *Flavianus* succeeds.

Niceph. in Chron. & Niceph. Calistus. lib. 14. cap. 47. Concil. Tolet. in fine.

Acta Concil. Ephes.

Liberatus Breviar. c. 11. Theod. in hæreticis fabulis. Flavian. Ep. inter Leonis. Leo variis ut 11. 19. Euagrius libb. 1. 2. 3. 4.

Eutyches and his Heresie.

Is condemned in a Synod held at *Constantinople*.

35. *Eutyches* his Doctrine being early discovered at *Constantinople*, was condemned by a Synod assembled there by *Flavianus* for that purpose. This same year were two Synods held at *Tyre* and *Berytus* about *Ibas* Bishop of *Edessa* in *Syria*, who was accused of *Nestorianism*, and as *Baronius* tells us, was thereof acquitted, not onely at *Berytus* but also afterward in the General Council of *Chalcedon*, how truly we shall hereafter declare. In the mean time the Friends of *Eutyches* knowing what disreputation the late Synod at *Constantinople* had procured him, laboured by all means to null the Decrees thereof, especially *Chrysaphius* the Eunuch out of a particular Grudge to *Flavianus*, upon whom he studied how to devolve all the Odium and Infamy. This *Chrysaphius* at first was much displeased with his advancement to the See of *Constantinople*, and to pick some Quarrel sent to him to tell him it was fitting he should present the Emperour with some gift at his promotion. He sent him accordingly some White-Loaves, whereat the Eunuch being displeased, and pleading for Gold as most worthy of the Prince, the Bishop affirmed he had none but what belonged to the Church, and dedicated to the Service

Acta Conc. Chalc.

Niceph. lib. 14. cap. 47.

Service of God, and use of the Poor. *Chrysaphius* rather irritated by this his resolute Answer studies all ways how to out him of his See, and perceiving he should profit nothing in any such attempt as long as *Pulcheria Augusta* the Sister of *Theodosius* sate at the Helm, by false Suggestions he brings her into discredit with *Eudocia* the Empress first, and then with the Emperour himself, and contrives how to devest her of her Imperial Power, and reduce her into a condition no better than that of the Deaconesses of the Church, which being made known to her by *Flavianus*, she of her own accord quitted the Government and retired to a private life. *Chrysaphius* therefore joyns himself with *Eutyches* and *Dioscorus* Bishop of *Alexandria*, the great Patron of this Heretick. *Eutyches* incouraged by his assistence complains that he had not been fairly dealt with in the late Synod of *Constantinople*, that the Acts of it were changed and altered at the pleasure of his Enemies, and all things falsly and disadvantageously recorded and represented on his side. He petitions the Emperour that the Records might be diligently searched and examined.

But appealing to the Emperour.

36. His suit was very easily granted through the interest of *Chrysaphius*, who so far also prevailed in his behalf, that though the Fathers of this new Synod called for examination of this matter opposed it, he procured him a dispensation as to appearance, and the matter to be examined in the presence of his Proctours, which favour yet could not be granted to *Eusebius* Bishop of *Dorylæum* his Accuser. But by this Assembly of thirty Bishops, who as *Evagrius* writes sifted out the doings of *Flavianus*, were the Records found true and confirmed. *Eutyches* to bring *Flavianus* into greater discredit with the Emperour, and all good Men, accused him as a Fautor of *Nestorianism*, whereupon *Theodosius* demanded of him a Confession of his Faith, which inveighing against and anathematizing as well the one as the other Heresie, perceiving he nothing profited by any of these shifts, being advised and governed by *Dioscorus* and *Chrysaphius*, he desires a general Council should be called, whereof *Dioscorus* should be President or Moderatour. *Chrysaphius* by the Mediation of the Empress easily obtaineth his suit, openly pretending to clear the difficulty in the Cause of *Eutyches*, but in his mind designing aswell the advancement of his opinions, as the depositing and Ruine of *Flavianus*. By his means the Emperour appointed a Council to be held at *Ephesus* by the first of *August* (*A.D.* 449) over which he commanded *Dioscorus* to preside, and bring with him several Bishops, but *Theodoret* of *Cyrus* and *Ibas* Bishop of *Edessa* were forbidden to be present. *Leo* Bishop of *Rome* was also summoned, but not finding it convenient to come himself sent his Legates, who brought with them an Epistle to *Flavianus*, wherein the Heresie of *Eutyches* was condemned, and which *Dioscorus* the President suppressed, not willing it should be read. On the tenth of *August* the Bishops met, to the Number of about 128, besides some that were onely present by their Legates. Besides *Dioscorus* the Head of the Faction appeared *Juvenalis* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, *Domnus* of *Antioch*, *Stephen* of *Ephesus*, *Flavianus* of *Constantinople*. *Dioscorus* brought a rout of his own *Egyptian* Bishops, and procured a Military Guard under Command of *Elpidius* and *Eulogius*, moreover a great Company of *Eutychian* Monks, Men clamorous, importune and audacious, gave their attendance at this Synod, which because all things were carried irregularly, unjustly, and by force and violence in latter Ages, hath obtained the Name of the *Ephesine* Latrociny.

Lib. 1. c. 9.

Liberatus in Breviario. c. 11.

Obtains a Council to be call'd to *Ephesus*.

37. *Dioscorus* the Moderatour would permit no Clerk to take the Acts of the Synod but one of his own making, yet permitted those of his own faction to take what notes they pleased. At the opening of the Assembly was read the Emperour's Letters, wherein he permitted such as had formerly condemned *Eutyches* in the Synod of *Constantinople* to be present, but with injunction of silence, because their Acts were now to be examined, he also commanded all things to be done according to the prescript of the *Nicene Faith*, and that they would doe their utmost to extirpate all Heresie. They confirmed the *Nicene* Creed, and receiving a Paper from *Eutyches*, wherein he had written his opinion, after it was read, up stands *Dioscorus*, and cries out *Eutyches* his Faith is very good, agreeable to that of the 318 Fathers. *Eutyches* believeth aright, and we profess the same opinion. *Eutyches* incouraged by this Patrociny, makes a long invective against *Flavianus*, and the late Synod of *Constantinople*, and complains he was much injured by them. The lesser part moved that the Acts of that Synod might be read, but the Legates of *Leo* first required they would hear his Letters, which yet at the instance of *Eutyches* was denied, he being jealous of the Legates, because they had been entertained by *Flavianus*. In short, *Eutyches* was restored,

Acta Concil. Chalced. Evagrius lib. 1. cap. 10.

Wherein *Eutyches* is restored, but *Flavianus* and the Orthodox are excommunicated.

restored, with the Monks of his faction excommunicated justly by *Flavianus*. *Flavianus* and *Eusebius* of *Dorylæum* were excommunicated, and the former so cruelly handled, that he died shortly after. The Bishops by Threats and Terrour of Death and Tortures, were forced to subscribe to this Sentence. *Domnus* Patriarch of *Antioch* having subscribed, afterward recanted, and for that was condemned and deposed. The same measure had *Ibas* Bishop of *Edessa*, *Daniel* of *Carræ*, *Irenæus* of *Tyre*, and *Aquilinus* of *Biblus*, and *Theodoret* of *Cyrus*, for they raged aswell against those that held the other Extreme, as the Orthodox Bishops. The worst was, *Theodosius* the Emperour was so overreached by *Chrysaphius* and others, that he confirmed the Acts of this Pradatorian Assembly by his Imperial Authority, and so this second Oecumenical *Ephesine* Council, as *Baronius* styles it, had an end.

Which is confirmed by *Theodosius* the Emperour.

38. *Leo* the *Roman* Patriarch certified how things were carried in this Assembly summoned a Provincial Synod, wherein was condemned the Heresie of *Eutyches*, which notwithstanding, *Dioscorus* the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, gathering together some of his own Faction and Dependants thundred out the Sentence of Excommunication against *Leo* himself. Not long after *Theodosius* the Emperour died, having as *Nicephorus* writes, given ample Testimony of his Repentance for what he had done in behalf of *Eutyches*, being convinced and perswaded to abandon that Cause by *Pulcheria Augusta* his Sister, who moved with Indignation to see how things were carried, returned from her retirement to the care of the publick, and after her Brother's death procured the Empire to be conferred on *Martianus*. The new Emperour following either his own inclination or the Dictates of his Wife, presently publisheth * an Edict against the *Eutychians*, on whom he commands the punishments to be inflicted which by former Laws had been decreed against other Hereticks, adding banishment out of the *Roman* Territories. He recalls the Bishops Confessours out of Exile, and causeth the body of *Flavianus* dead in Banishment to be translated to *Constantinople*. Then doth he consult with *Leo* Bishop of *Rome* eminent for his Orthodox Faith as much as the dignity of his See, and at length resolves to call another General Council, at which he intended to be personally present. *Leo* both in the time of *Theodosius* and now, had a great desire to have such a Synod called in *Italy* as appears by several of his Letters to these two Princes, in which he also desires to be excused that he came not himself, and prays them not to take it ill that he sends his Legates. But that Request being judged unreasonable, *Marcianus* by a publick Sanction dated *June* 22, commands all Bishops to meet at *Nice* in *Bithynia* by the first of *September* next following. Many Prelates came thither accordingly, and expecting his coming, some days petitioned him, that out of respect to their Age and Infirmities he would give order for opening the Council. He still deferred to doe it, out of the great desire he had to be present himself, for the Invasion made by *Attila* into *Illyricum* gave him work at *Constantinople*, from which City at length perceiving that he could not be far absent because of this War, he gave order to the Fathers to remove themselves to *Chalcedon*.

Theodosius dies.

Acta Conc. Chalced.

Lib. 14. *c.*49.

Martianus chosen Emperour, who punisheth the Sect of *Eutychians*.

* *Cod. lib.* 1. *tit.* 7. *leg. ult. & extat in Actis Conc. Chalc. Eos qui Catholicarum Ecclesiarum clerici vel Orthodoxæ fidei monachi, relicto vero Religionis cultu, Apollinaris vel Eutychetis hæresim & dogmata abhominanda sequuti fuerint, omnibus pœnis quæ prioribus legibus adversus hæreticos constitutæ sunt, jubemus teneri & extra ipsum quoque Romani Imperii solum repelli sicut de Manichæis precedentium legum statuta sanxerunt. Dat. Cal. Aug. Valentiniano A. vii. & Aviano Coss.*

Tom. 2. *Conc. p.* 40. 32. 44. *&c. Epp.* 23. 24, *&c.*

Summons a General Council at *Nice* in *Bithinia*.

But removes it to *Chalcedon*.

CHAP. VII.

CHAP. VII.

From the Fourth Oecumenical Council *summoned by* Martianus *the Emperour to the City of* Chalcedon, *to the Deposing of* Augustulus, *and the Ruine of the Western Empire.*

The space of Twenty five Years.

A General Council held at *Chalcedon.*

1. THE Fourth General Council summoned by the Emperour *Martianus* to *Chalcedon* a City of *Bithynia*, assembled in the Month of *October* in the second year of the Reign of that Prince, the 27 of *Valentinian the Third*, of *Old Rome* the 1024, of *New Rome the* 122, the fourth Indiction, 127 years after the first *Nicene* Synod, 70 after the second General Council called to *Constantinople*, 20 after the Celebration of the third Oecumenical Synod at *Ephesus*, of the ordinary *Æra* of Christ the 451, *Martianus Augustus* and *Adelphius* being Consuls.

The Persons who met there.

2. From all parts the Bishops assembled to the number of 630, as generally Writers do agree. Here were present as Legates from *Leo* the *Roman* Patriarch *Paschasinus* Bishop of *Lilybæum* in *Sicily*, *Lucentius* of *Asculum*, with *Boniface* and *Basilius* Priests, and *Julianus* Bishop of *Coa*. *Anatolius* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, who had succeeded *Flavianus*, here also appeared, as also *Dioscorus* the *Alexandrian* Patriarch, *Juvenalis* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, *Domnus* the late Patriarch of *Antioch*, and *Maximus* who enjoyed his place. The *African* Church and that of the *Saracens* were not wanting to send their Representatives, *Zachary Rhetor* reported that *Nestorius* was summoned to appear, but *Evagrius* contradicteth him, telling us it was plain it could not be so, for that *Nestorius* was commanded under pein of being accursed, not to shew his face in the Council, which *Eustathius* Bishop of *Berytus* wrote plainly in his Letters to *John* the Bishop and *John* a Priest, touching the Canons of this Council, wherein he useth these words: *There came to the Council such as diligently searched for the Relicks of* Nestorius, *and with open mouths they exclaimed against the Council. What Reason or Conscience is there that holy men should be accursed? So that the Emperour was greatly incensed against them, and commanded his Guard to set them packing.* Wherefore I cannot see (saith *Evagrius*) how *Nestorius* being dead should be called to the Council. Sometimes *Martianus* the Emperour himself with *Pulcheria Augusta* was also present; but because he could not always be present in person, he deputed certain Secular Judges to execute the usual Imperial Presidency, to see that all things should be done lawfully without Force, Fraud or Tumult. These were *Anatolius* a *Magister Militum*, *Palladius* a *Præfectus Sacrorum*, *Tatianus* the Prefect of the City, *Vincemalus* the *Magister Sacrorum Officiorum*, Count *Martialis*, *Genethlius* the *Comes Rerum Privatarum*, *Florentius* the *Præfectus Prætorio*, *Senator Patricius*, *Patricius Nonius*, *Protogenes* the Prefect, the Prefect *Zoilus*, *Theodorus*, *Apollonius*, *Romanus Præfectus Sacri Cubiculi*, *Theodorus* Prefect of *Illyricum*, *Constantinus* the *Præfectus Prætoriorum*, *Artaxerxes* the *Præpositus Sacri Cubiculi*, and *Eulogius* Prefect of *Illyricum*. *Lib. 2. c. 2.*

3. On the eighth of *October* the Bishops met in the Church of St. *Euphemia* the Martyr, where being placed before the *Cancelli Altaris* (which place *Liberatus* calls the *Secretarium*, and thence the several Sessions therein held *Secretaria*) the Emperour *Martianus* together with *Pulcheria* his Empress came into the Synod. *Cap. 13.*

The design of their Meeting.

He told them *he could ingenuously protest that he no sooner came to the Government, but his mind was fully bent to establish the true Religion in the purity and sincerity thereof. That this was the cause of their meeting at this time, from which he promi-*

sed himself all good and just things reasonably to be expected, as from those who would act to the utmost of their duty for purging and clearing the truth of Christian Religion from those Mists and Errours which either the Avarice or Ambition of some light Persons had brought upon it. That they might with more Facility obtain this end he would impose this as a Law upon them that now should dare to dispute or argue concerning the Person of our Lord Jesus Christ contrary to the Faith of the three hundred Fathers laid down in the Nicene *Synod. As for himself he assured them he came not thither for the Ostentation of his Power or Authority, but to confirm the Faith, and suppress all strife and dissention that might arise.* Having spoken to this purpose the Fathers set about their Synodical Work. At the beginning the Legates of *Leo* Patriarch of *Rome* began much to take upon them, willing that *Dioscorus* the *Alexandrian* Patriarch might be put out of the Assembly, and said, Either let *Dioscorus* depart, or we will be gone. The Judges gravely reproved this their unreasonable humour, telling them, If they would be Judges, they must not prosecute as Accusers; neither did they suffer *Dioscorus* to depart, but commanded him, as was fittest, to sit in the Place of the *Rei*, or accused Persons. Then did *Eusebius* of *Dorylæum* step forth and accuse him of Injury done to himself aswell as the Death of *Flavianus*, giving into the Synod the Petition he had put up to the Emperour, which being read, together with the Acts of the *Ephesine Latrociny*, by all which *Dioscorus* appeared aswell guilty of the Blasphemous opinion of *Eutyches* as of what *Eusebius* had laid to his charge. The Synod therefore condemned him, with his principal Assistants: *Juvenalis* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, *Thalassius* of *Cæsarea*, *Eusebius* of *Ancyra*, *Eustathius* of *Berytus*, and *Basilius* of *Seleucia*. To the condemnation of *Dioscorus*, who had been the Ring-leader, the Eastern Bishops most willingly assented, but interceded for such as had been by threats drawn to joyn with him, that their deposition might be suspended. The Synod commands, that the several Bishops should severally and apart make Confessions of their Faith, according to the prescript of the *Nicene* Synod, and the writings of *Basil*, *Gregory*, *Hilary*, *Athanasius*, *Ambrose*, and the two Epistles of *Cyril* published in the Council of *Ephesus*. The Action was furnished with Acclamations of the *Trisagion* to Almighty God, Well-wishes to the Emperour, and Curses against *Dioscorus*.

Aut ille Egrediatur aut nos Eximus, Act. 1. p. 4. B.

Dioscorus Bishop of *Alexandria* and his Adherents condemned.

4. This Custome of Acclamations in Council at the end of the several Sessions or Conclusion of the Synod seems taken from the practice of the Senate and People, in which Assemblies after the Debate and Consultation ended, extraordinary Acclamations were wont to be made to the Honour of the Emperours. For though the word doth signifie a vocal assent given by any one to what is said by another, yet there were Acclamations extraordinary and solemn made upon certain Occasions, a Cryer or Officer dictating to the Multitude. So *Trebellius Pollio* tells us in the Life of the Emperour *Claudius*, that after the reading of his Letters in the Temple of *Apollo*, it being said, *Claudius Augustus, The Gods keep thee*, the Assembly acclaimed it sixty times. Claudius Augustus *We have ever wisht for thee, or such an one as thou art to be our Prince*; this was reiterated forty times. Claudius Augustus *the Commonwealth sought after thee*; this was repeated forty times. Claudius Augustus *thou hast been a good Brother, Father, Friend and Senatour, thou art truly a Prince*; this was acclaimed eighty times. Claudius Augustus *avenge us of* Aureolus; five times. Claudius Augustus *avenge us of the Palmyrenians*, five times. Claudius Augustus *deliver us from* Zenobia *and* Victoria; seven times. Claudius Augustus, Tetricus *did nothing*; seven times. In like manner when *Tacitus* the Emperour by a Speech in Answer to the Senate, had excused himself by his Old Age from taking upon him the Government, the Senate made these Acclamations: Trajan *also came Old to the Imperial Dignity*; this they spoke ten times. Adrian *in like manner came Old to the Government*; this they pronounced ten times. *In like manner did* Antoninus; ten times. *Thou also hast read* (*viz.* Virgil *Æneid.* 6) *Incanaque menta Regis Romani*; ten times. *And who Rules better than an Old Man?* ten times. *We make thee an Emperour, not a Souldier*; twenty times. *Do thou give orders, let the Souldiers fight*; thirty times. *Thou art prudent, and hast a good Brother*; ten times. Severus *said, The Head ought to Govern, and not the Feet*; thirty times. *And we make choice of thee for thy Mind, not thy Body*; to which they acclaimed twenty times. These forms of Acclamations being Recorded, Historians copied them out of the Rolls, and some Coins have been stamped with a Memorial of them, so much did Princes think they tended to their Fame and Reputation, as in a medal of the Emperour *Constantius*, wherein is read, *Gaudium Populi Romani*, or *The Joy of the* Roman *People*; being words of Acclamations whereby the People testified the publick Joy,

Acclamations used at the end of General Councils.

What they were.

Flavius Vopiscus Syracus. in Tacito.

Joy, and within a laurel Crown, *sic V. sic X.* or *sic Quinquies, sic Sexies*, that so six, or seven times the People acclaimed. *Tristanus* mentions a medal of *Constans* the Emperour with the same notes, which he interprets, *sic Quinquennalia, sic Decennalia*, and indeed *Antiquaries* took no notice of these Acclamations expressed upon Coins, till *Jacobus Chiffletius* began to observe them, as appears in his Book called *Anastasis Childerici.* Tom. 3. p. 607. Cap. 19.

5. No wonder then that in so Solemn and Holy Assemblies, wherein the Prayers of the Faithfull availed much, such Religious Acclamations should be made, expressing praise and glory to Almighty God, and prayers for the welfare of the Emperours, the nursing Fathers of his Church. It was the ancient Custome of the Eastern Churches to handle matters in Councils in a publick meeting of all, and upon occasion popular Acclamations did often happen, and sometimes tumultuous, which notwithstanding did conclude in concord, and in the end the Bishops transported with Joy, for the uniform Determinations, did pass to Acclamations, in praise of the Emperours, who had assembled and favoured the Council, in commendation of the Doctrine declared by it, in prayers to God for his continual aid and assistence afforded to his Church, for the welfare of the Emperours, and the health and prosperity of the Bishops, which were not premeditated, but as the Spirit did excite some Bishops more zealous to break out fitly into some of these Expressions, so the multitude acclaimed or cried with him. This was imitated of late in *Trent*, yet not giving place to the extemporary Spirit of any, but meditating what should be proposed and answered, and repeating it out of a Paper, the Cardinal of *Lorain* took upon him to be the *Præco* or Cryer, not only being chief in composing the Acclamations, but thundering them out also, which was generally accounted lightness and vanity, not beseeming such a Prelate and Prince to doe an Office belonging rather to the Deacons of the Council, than to so principal an Archbishop and Cardinal. But the Cardinal roared, and the Tridentine Fathers answered such things as will not edify the Reader to know, and if he please he may find them in the excellent History of that pretended General Council. Thus much by the way concerning Acclamations, once for all, and perhaps not unprofitably.

The design of them.

6. At the second Meeting, *Eusebius* Bishop of *Dorylæum* renewed his complaint aswell in behalf of *Flavianus* as himself, and after several things petitioned, desired that *Dioscorus* might be summoned to answer for himself, for, this second time, he had not appeared. Three several times was he summoned by three Bishops and a Notary, but as often excused himself, and in the mean time came certain Priests and Deacons of his own Church, accusing him aswell of Blasphemy as Robbing them of their Goods. Upon this occasion being summoned again, and refusing to appear, he was condemned as Contumacious, and deposed; the Legates of *Leo* by the consent of the Synod pronouncing the Sentence, wherein they attributed enough to his Authority that sent them. With these things the Emperour was made acquainted, and under his Authority the form of Deposition was sent to *Dioscorus* who was Banished to *Gangrena* a City of *Paphlagonia*, and his Sentence being written to the several Churches, was confirmed by Imperial Authority. On the thirteenth of *October* was the third Session held, wherein most of what had formerly passed being repeated, the several Bishops were commanded to give an account of their Faith. *Florentius* Bishop of *Sardis* as wavering, desired respite, but *Cecropius* Bishop of *Sebastopolis* publickly declared his Faith to the Fathers, asserting that of the *Nicene* Council confirmed by the Fathers, and lately by *Leo* the *Roman* Patriarch. After this were read and approved the *Nicene* Creed, the Decree of the Synod of *Constantinople*, wherein the Heresie of *Eutyches* had been condemned, the Faith of the First *Ephesine* Council held against *Nestorius*, the two Epistles written by *Cyril* to *Nestorius* and *John* Patriarch of *Antioch*, with the Confession of the said *John* approved by *Cyril*, in which writings the middle and safe way betwixt the errours of *Nestorius* and *Eutyches* was pointed out. Next was read and approved the Epistle of *Leo* to *Flavianus*. Then whereas some Bishops doubted concerning some expressions in *Cyril's* Letters, by the advice of *Anatolius* certain Bishops who had already subscribed were appointed to explain and give satisfaction to such as staggered.

In the second Meeting *Dioscorus* is Banished to *Gangrena.*

In the third the Bishops give an account of their Faith.

7. The Fourth Session was held on the seventeenth of *October*, wherein first it was demanded by the Secular Judges, Whether the *Nicene* Faith, and the Decree of the Synod of *Constantinople* were agreeable to the Epistle of *Leo*, to which an Answer being given in the affirmative, the Bishops were required to subscribe it, for therein being plainly and expresly condemned the Heresie of

In the fourth Session the Bishops are required to subscribe the Epistle of *Leo.*

Eutyches this was judged a more certain expedient to try the minds of the Fathers; forasmuch as such as are content to close with the more general expressions of a Council and wrest them to their own sense cannot so easily evade the drift of a particular Paper destined to the Condemnation of an Heterodox opinion. Then were admitted into the Synod, ten *Ægyptian* Bishops, and the Confession of Faith which they had written to the Emperour was read, wherein they professed to imbrace the Doctrine of the Apostles, the *Nicene Creed*, with the Faith of *Athanasius*, *Theophilus* and *Cyril*. Condemning all Heresies, particularly those of *Arius*, *Eunomius*, the *Manichees*, *Nestorius* and such as affirmed the flesh of Christ to have come from Heaven, not to have been truly Born of the *Virgin Mary*, which was indeed the Doctrine of *Eutyches*. The Synod command them to subscribe the Epistle of *Leo*, but they refused it, denying that they represented all the *Ægyptian* Bishops, wherefore they would not prescribe to them, nor could they doe it legally having no Archbishop since the deposing of *Dioscorus*. The Synod had well nigh pronounced a rash sentence against the Bishops, crying out that they were Heretical. But the Judges knowing well that they forbore to subscribe because of a Custome they had that they might doe nothing without their Patriarch not then chosen, and not as thinking Heretically in the Faith, moderated the Synod, telling the Fathers that to them it seemed reasonable and agreeable to good nature not to condemn them but stay till their Patriarch be chosen, to whose grave and sober sentence the Synod consented, making a Canon for this same purpose, and ordaining that in case they would give security not to depart out of the City, or that as soon as they had a Patriarch chosen, they would subscribe, they should be dispenced with as to present subscription. At the end of this Session several *Eutychean Monks* petitioned the Synod and made great stir about *Dioscorus*, their Patriarch, being Headed by *Barsumas* the principal *Archimandrita*. But the Fathers after much contention found reason still to Anathematize *Dioscorus* and cast out their Petition, giving the Monks three days time to consider and revoke their Heretical Tenents.

The *Eutychean* Monks Petition for *Dioscorus* rejected.

8. In the fifth Session more contention happened about the Person of *Dioscorus* whom *Anatolius* if possible would have cleared as to the Crime of Heresie. The Emperour perceiving there was no end to be expected in those personal causes, and that the Bishops spent all there time therein, ordained that six Eastern Bishops, three of *Pontus*, three of *Asia*, three of *Thrace*, and as many of *Illyricum*, together with *Anatolius* and the Legates of *Leo* should consult together and lay down such a form of Faith as the rest should own and subscribe. A form of Faith they accordingly composed in writing, whereof the first part contained a censure of the Heresies of *Nestorius*, *Eutyches* and the *Macedonians*. To the Condemnation of their opinions was added a confession of Faith to this purpose: according to the example of the Holy Fathers, *We confess one and the same Son of God, Christ our Lord, and unanimously affirm him perfect in the Divinity, and perfect in Humanity: true God and true Man, having both a rational Soul and Body: Coessential with the Father according to Divinity, and Coessential to us according to Humanity, in all things like to us, sin excepted: begot of his Father before all Ages, as to his Divinity: in these last times for us and for our Salvation manifested, being born of the* Virgin Mary *the Mother of God according to Humanity, one and the same Jesus Christ the Son of God, the Lord and onely begotten, in two Natures, without confusion, conversion, divulsion or separation: the difference of Natures being no wise taken away by unity, but rather the propriety of both Natures concurring to one Person, and one Subsistence being preserved, not that he is parted or divided into two Persons, but is one and the same onely begotten Son, God the word, and our Lord Jesus Christ, and in old time the Prophets foretold, Christ himself hath taught us and the Fathers have delivered to us.* This being read, the whole Synod Acclamed: *This is the Faith of all the Fathers, let the Metropolitans subscribe it, this is the Faith of the Apostles, let us all follow this: we are all of this Judgment.* Then did the Synod decree that what had so universally passed and pleased the Fathers should be reported to the Emperour *Martianus*. Notwithstanding this final Accord, in making the Definition of Faith, a great dissention there was in the Synod, some would have it one way, some another way set down, insomuch that the Legates of *Leo* were ready to make a Schism, to depart from the Council and hold another Synod by themselves. The glorious Judges then (as they are stiled) proposed this proper expedient to have the matter peaceably delated and concluded. But outcryes and Tumults prevailing, the Judges complained of these disorders to the Emperour, and *Martianus* injoyned them to follow the direction

In the fifth Session a Confession of Faith composed.

Suggerentur Imperatori Clamores isti.

rection of the Judges, wherein they obeyed him, and so at length came to a full conclusion and definition of Faith.

9. At their sixth meeting came *Martianus* with the Empress into the Synod where he spoke to the Fathers first in *Latin* (according to the Custome of preserving the repute and grandeur of *Old Rome*, and then in *Greek* to the same purpose as formerly. After he had made an end, *Aetius* the Archdeacon of *Constantinople*, in the name of the Synod briefly recounted what had been hitherto done, and then read a writing which declared the Faith of the Fathers to be agreeable to that form we lately mentioned. The Emperour demanded if that was the Act and Judgment of the whole Synod, and upon answer that it was, and that they all believed accordingly, he published his Edict importing that whereas the Catholick Faith was now explained, and defined by the holy and universal Synod, according to what had been deliver'd by the Apostles and Fathers, he thought it necessary to cut off for the future all occasions of disputes in matters of Religion. Therefore he commanded and declared that no Person whatsoever whether Clerk, Souldier or others (called *Idiotæ*, *Plebeians* or *private Persons*) should move any question publickly concerning the Faith, under Pein of Banishment to a private Person, to Clerks and Military Men or of the Senatorian rank loss of their Degree and Dignity, with other penalties. This was applauded by several Acclamations of *Many years to the Emperour*, *Many years to the pious and Christian* Augustus, *Many years to the Orthodox Empress*, and Anathema to *Dioscorus*; and the like. After this he told them there were certain things which he thought fit to propound to them as for their nature being proper for their Cognisance, which respecting Clerks and Religious Persons we shall mention when we come to speak of the third, fourth and fifth Canons of this Council. *Euagrius* writes that the Emperour now commanded the Bishops to continue there three or four days more, and prepare more matter such as they should think to be expedient. And they staid not onely three or four days but many more, new matter still arising before them.

In the sixth Meeting it is confirmed by the Edicts of the Emperour.

Lib. 2. c. ult.

10. In the seventh Session an Agreement betwixt *Maximus* Bishop of *Antioch* and *Juvenalis* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, was propounded to the Fathers and ratified. The Reader must know the Bishop of *Jerusalem* had long before this time the mere Name and Title of a Patriarch as both *Bellarmine* and *Binius* acknowledge, and though his See was but a single Bishoprick, Subject, as both St. *Jerome* and the *Nicene Council* declare, to the Bishop of *Antioch* as Patriarch, and to the Bishop of *Cæsarea Palestina* as Metropolitan, yet out of respect to our *Saviour* he had the name of a Patriarch, and place in Councils above the Bishop of *Cæsarea*. But the Authority and power of a Patriarch he had now by Decree and Judgment of this Council of *Chalcedon*. *Juvenalis* had moved about it in the *Ephesine Council*; but the Patriarch of *Antioch* as it seemeth, saith our Dr. *Crackanthorp*, being unwilling to manumit him, and as it were free him from his subjection, *Cyril* resisted it, and wrote to Pope *Leo* to doe the like. But after long contention both parties being satisfied, the matter was in this Session brought to this Council before which *Maximus* and *Juvenalis* professed they were both willing that the *Bishop of* Antioch *should hold the two* Phœnicia's *and* Arabia, *and the Bishop of* Jerusalem *the three* Palestina's, *and they both desired the Synod to decree, confirm and ratifie their Agreement.* The whole Council upon their Petition ratified it, all the Bishops crying, *We all say the same and consent thereunto.* And after them the most glorious Judges in the Emperour's name added the imperial Authority and Royal assent to their Decree, saying, *This by our Decree and Judgment of the Council shall abide firm for ever, that the Church of* Antioch *have under it the two* Phœnicia's *with* Arabia, *and the Church of* Jerusalem *have under it the three* Palestina's. *Euagrius* witnesseth that this Agreement betwixt *Juvenalis* and *Maximus after Consultation had both by the Judges and Bishops was confirmed.* *Nicephorus* testifieth the same. So untrue it is that *William* of *Tyre* and from him *Baronius* avoucheth that the Church of *Jerusalem* was first made a Patriarchal See or had the Provinces and Metropolitans of *Cæsarea* and *Scythopolis* annexed unto it by the fifth Council, that it is undoubtedly certain, that it had together with the Title and Dignity, true Patriarchal Authority and power over divers Provinces with their inferiour Bishops conferred upon it, by a plenary consent of the whole Church in this Council of *Chalcedon*.

In the seventh *Juvenalis* Bishop of *Jerusalem* hath Patriarchal power confirmed to that See.

Lib. de Pontif. Rom. l. 1. c. 24. Ad Epist. Anacleti 3. tom. 1. Conc. & ad Conc. Nic. c. 7. Ep. ad Pammachium. Conc. Nic. c. 7. Of the fifth Council, ch. 31. Leonis Ep. 62.

Act. 7. p. 105.

Lib. 3. c. ult. versus finem. Nic. Callistus lib. 15. c. 30.

11. That

11. That you may see the shamefull dealing both of *Baronius* and *Binius* in another place (Reader they are *Crackanthorp's* words) where their Choler against the fifth Council was not moved they acknowledge that truth, for intreating of the Council at *Chalcedon*, *In this seventh Session*, saith *Baronius*, and the like doth *Binius*, *was the controversie composed betwixt the Bishops of* Antioch *and* Jerusalem, *and the cause being judged, the two* Phœnicia's *and* Arabia, *were given to the Bishop of* Antioch, *and the three Palestines were adjudged to the Bishop of* Jerusalem, *whence it doth evidently appear that the right of the* Metropolis *which before belonged to the Bishop of* Cæsarea *was translated to the Bishop of* Jerusalem. So they, who yet in hatred against the Acts of the fifth Council (the reasons of their hatred shall be declared in due place) with Faces of Adamant deny that truth which here upon this occasion they confess to be clear and conspicuous. But the Cardinal objecteth that this Decree of *Chalcedon* was made *Post absentiam Legatorum*, when the Popes Legates were now gone, and so they being absent, is to be held invalid. O the forehead of the Cardinal! were the Pope's Legates absent? were they gone? Truly they were not onely present at this Decree and consenting to it, but after it was proposed by *Maximus* and *Juvenalis*, they were the very first that gave sentence therein, the Council following their sentence. For thus runs the story, Paschasinus *and* Lucentius *the most Reverend Bishops, and* Boniface *the Presbyter holding the place of the Apostolick See, said by* Paschasinus; *Those things betwixt* Maximus *and* Juvenalis *are known to be done for their good and peace, & nostræ humilitatis interloquutione firmantur, and are confirmed by the Interloquution of our humility, ut nulla in posterum in hac causa sit contentio, that never hereafter there should be any contention about this matter between these Churches.* Is it credible that the Cardinal should be so audacious and impudent as to utter such palpable untruths? unless he had quite put off, I say not Modesty, but Reason, Sense, and almost Humane Nature.

Which is falsly objected against by *Baronius* and *Binius*.

Ad An. 451. *num.* 124. *Nich. ad hoc Conc. p.* 184. *Vide etiam Baron. ad An.* 451. *num.* 26.

Ad An. 553. *num.* 246.

Act. 7. *p.* 105.

12. *Baronius* following on his charge, in the second place objecteth that Pope *Leo* himself withstood this Decree of this Council of *Chalcedon*, because it was prejudicial to the Rights of other Churches, and by reason of his Averseness, it was not put in Execution as it was after the Decree of the fifth Synod, Dr. *Crackanthorp* coming in here also to the relief of the Council, affirmeth that had the Cardinal and his Friends been well advised they would have been afraid and much ashamed once to mention the resistence of Pope *Leo*, to the Council of *Chalcedon*, either in these Patriarchs or the other of *Constantinople*: for first, the resistence of *Leo* which was merely ineffectual, demonstrates that the Popes contradiction, with all his might and power, can neither disanull nor infringe the Judgment of a general Council, which is no small prejudice to his principality or Princely Supremacy. Again it convinceth *Leo* of a very foul and inexcusable Errour, judging the *Nicene* Canons concerning matters of Order, Polity, and Government of the Church (such are these concerning the extent of Sees or Superiority of one Bishop above another) to be unalterable and Eternal, no less than the Decrees of Faith. *The condition*, saith he, *of the Nicene Canons* (pointing in the margent to the sixth and seventh both which concern the Limits of Sees) *being ordained by the Spirit of God, is in no part soluble; and whatsoever is divers from their constitution, omni penitus authoritate vacuum est, is utterly void of all Authority by whom soever it be Decreed.* Much more in this and the following Epistle he addeth to the same purpose. Particularly concerning *Juvenalis* who was truly at this time made a Patriarch, for keeping the Statutes of the Holy Fathers, which in the *Nicene Synod* are confirmed *inviolabilibus decretis* by Inviolable Decrees, I admonish your Holiness saith he, that the Laws of the Churches may continue, let no Man's Ambition covet what's another Man's, let no Man seek by impairing another to advance himself, for though they seek Assistence from Councils, *Infirmum atq; Irritum erit quicquid à prædictorum Patrum Canonibus discreparit; whatsoever differs from these* Nicene *Canons shall be void.* And to *Maximus* Bishop of *Antioch*; Let it suffice that I pronounce this in general, *ad omnia, as to all matters*, concerning Limits of Sees and the like, that, If any thing be attempted by any Man, in any Synod against the Statutes of the *Nicene* Canons, *nihil præjudicii potest inviolabilibus inferre decretis*, It can bring no prejudice to these unalterable and inviolable Decrees. Thus *Leo* erroniously judging the order prescribed in the *Nicene* Canons for the bounds and pre-eminence of Bishops to be Eternal, and not to be altered by any Council whatsoever.

Quo priùs.

Leo Epist. 53.

54

Ep. 61.

Ep. 62.

13. Be-

13. Behold the wisedom of the Cardinal in alledging Pope *Leo.* If the Decree of *Chalcedon* was not of force because *Leo* contradicted it, then neither can that other Decree, supposed to be made in the fifth Council, be effectual, because *Leo* contradicteth it also, seeing that by the Judgment of *Leo*, at no time, by no Person, by no Council, by no Authority can the order of *Nice* be changed. If this at *Chalcedon* was not in force, to which the Pope's Legates consented, how can the Cardinal think that of the fifth Council to be of force, to which neither Pope nor Legate consented, nor was so much as present in the Council? If the Judgment of *Leo* stand for good, then neither is, nor ever was either *Constantinople* or *Jerusalem* Patriarchal Sees; and then the Decree of the eighth Council and the Lateran, and I know not how many more must be rejected as unlawfull and Impious. If the Judgment of *Leo* be (as by their eighth Council and the Lateran it is adjudged) Erroneous, then was *Jerusalem* a Patriarchal See, notwithstanding the contradiction of *Leo* to that Decree. In a word, if *Leo* his Judgment be of force, it repeals the Decree of the fifth, eighth, and all other General Councils decreeing this; if it be not of force, it neither did nor could infringe the Decree of *Chalcedon.* But to satisfie the Cardinal yet a little more fully, it is an untruth which he saith, that the Decree of *Chalcedon* was not put in Execution, before the time of the fifth Synod and the supposed Decree thereof. For this Council of *Chalcedon* decreed that their sentence in advancing *Jerusalem* to a Patriarchal See, should stand in force *in omni tempore*, and therefore doubtless even then, and from that very time it was truly a Patriarchal See, the contradiction of *Leo* no more hindering it the very next or second year, than it did two Hundred or two Thousand years after that Decree made. Again, as it is certain that the See of *Constantinople* both before and after the Decree of *Chalcedon* (which was not introductive but confirmative in that point) exercised Patriarchal Authority, *Justinian* also by his Imperial Law made some twelve years before the fifth Council confirming the same; so it is not to be doubted but the Church of *Jerusalem* did the very like in it's own Patriarchal Diocese, especially considering that *Justinian*'s Imperial Law is as forcible for the one as the other. So that for any one to have denied, or sought then to have infringed the Patriarchal Authority confirmed to *Constantinople*, conferred to *Jerusalem* by this Council of *Chalcedon*, had brought him into danger, not onely of the Ecclesiastical censure; but of civil punishment with the Emperours high indignation.

Novel. 131. *c.* 1, 2.

14. But if the Cardinal will not be satisfied, unless he see the practice of that Patriarchal Authority, let him look into the General Council under *Mennas*, and there he shall see *John* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, hold a Provincial Synod of the Bishops of the three *Palestines*, *qui sub eo sunt*, *who were under him*, two whereof as by their subscriptions appear, were the Metropolitan Bishops of *Cæsarea* and *Scythopolis*, with thirty more; so many were then subject to the Patriarch of *Jerusalem.* Again in another Provincial Synod held at *Jerusalem* in the tenth year of *Justinian*, *Peter* Patriarch of *Jerusalem*, was President over all the Bishops of the three *Palestines* there assembled with him, two of which were the aforesaid Metropolitans. So untrue it is, which *Baronius* to maintain the false Testimony of *Guil. Tyrius* avoucheth, that this Decree of *Chalcedon* was not put in Execution, before the fifth Council. Another untruth is, that which he pretends in his Fragments of the Fifth Council, that it had no other means to erect this Patriarchship of *Jerusalem*, but by taking part from both those of *Antioch* and *Alexandria*; for there was another means as both the Decree of *Chalcedon*, and the Event did shew, and nothing at all was taken from that of *Alexandria.* That is also as false as the rest, that the Fathers took from *Alexandria* the Metropolitan Sees and Provinces of *Ruba* and *Berithus*, for neither of these Sees belonged to the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, but of *Antioch.* Of them both *Berterius* (refuting this Fragment, at which the Cardinal and *Binius* so gladly snatcht) saith, *Certainly* Ruba *is placed by* Ptolemy *in* Syria, *and it's manifest that* Berithus *is the* Metropolis *of* Phœnice *near* Libanus: *Syria autem & Phœnicia orientis Provinciæ omnibus notæ sunt:* Now that *Syria* and *Phœnicia* were Provinces of the East (and consequently belonging to the See of *Antioch*) *all do know.* For *Berithus* the matter is certain that it is not near the Limits of *Alexandria*; for that it is in the Province of *Phœnicia*, not onely *Ptolemy* shews, but the Subscriptions of the Bishops, both in the * *Nicene*, the first *Constantinopolitan* † and *Chalcedon* ‖ Councils, in all which the Bishop of *Berithus* is set in the Province of *Phœnicia*; whence another untruth is to be observed in that Fragment of *Tyrius*, which saith that *Berithus* was granted to the new Patriarch of *Jerusalem*; whereas

Act. 5. *p.* 455. *&c.*

Contra Severum & alios. Tom. 2 *Conc. p.* 472. *Præsidente sanctissimo Patriarcha Petro assistentibus Episcopis trium Palæstinarum.*

Pith. Diatrib. 2. *c.* 2.

* *Lib.* 5. *c.* 15.
† *P.* 310.
‖ *P.* 513.

whereas it is clear, that it was in *Phœnicia*, and that the two *Phœnicia's*, both by the Agreement of *Maximus* and *Juvenalis*, and by this Decree of this Council of *Chalcedon*, did belong to the See and Bishop of *Antioch*, and not of *Jerusalem*.

15. In the eighth Session *Theodoret*, the Bishop of *Cyrus* came to clear himself, and to be reconciled to the Church. Hitherto he had been received and admitted by the Synod no otherwise than as Plaintiff, accusing *Dioscorus*, for injuriously outing him of his See, and placing another in it. For when he first came into the Council the Bishops of *Egypt*, *Illyricum* and *Palestine* exclaimed against him, crying *The Canons exclude this Man, out with him, thrust out the Master of* Nestorius, *the* Orthodox *Council doth not receive* Theodoret, *call him not a Bishop, he is no Bishop, he is a Fighter against God, he is a Jew, out with him; he accused, he anathematized* Cyril; *If we admit him we reject* Cyril. *The Canons exclude him, God detesteth him.* Knowing him to have formerly imbraced and defended the *Nestorian Heresie*, they would not be satisfied otherwise than by the appointment of the Judges, he should sit onely as an Accuser of *Dioscorus*, not as one having Judicatory Power, or a decisive Voice, till his own cause should come to be heard and thoroughly examined. Now in this eighth Session when he appeared for this purpose, no sooner was he espied but the Bishops cried out again, *Let* Theodoret *forthwith anathematize* Nestorius, *let him do it speedily and without delay.* He offered to them a Paper containing a Confession of his Faith, but they refused to hear it. Then began he at large to clear himself, telling them he came thither out of a sense he had, that he was calumniated as if he had taught Heresie, that as he had been bred and educated amongst the Orthodox, so he had ever taught, being averse to *Nestorius*, *Eutyches* and all others who held false and heterodox Opinions. But as he was proceeding, the Synod suspecting that he used these delays as unwilling to anathematize *Nestorius*, cried out, *He is an Heretick, He is a Nestorian, put out the Heretick*, and out they had put him, but that leaving all Circuition and delay, he presently cried out *Anathema* to *Nestorius, and to them that either do not confess* Mary *the Virgin to be the Mother of God, or divide the one onely begotten Son into two.* He told them also, that he subscribed to the Definition of Faith, and the Epistle of *Leo* the most Holy Archbishop. With this the Synod was fully satisfied, the glorious Judges saying, *Now all doubt is quite removed concerning* Theodoret, and receiving him into Communion as Orthodox restored him to his See, of which in the *Ephesine Latrociny* he had been outed, all crying out, *Theodoret is worthy of his See, let the Church receive their Orthodox Pastour, To Theodoret a Catholick Doctour, let the Church be restored.*

In the 8th. *Theodoret* Bishop of *Cyrus* anathematizing *Nestorianism* is restored.

Act. 1. p. 6.

Act 8. Nihil relegi volumus, anathematizet Nestorium.

16. In the Ninth Session was examined the Cause of *Ibas* Bishop of *Edessa*, who had also been deposed by *Dioscorus* and his *Ephesine Juncto*. He had formerly held the Heresie of *Nestorius*, and after the Union betwixt *Cyril* and *John*, had written a Letter full fraught of Heresie and Blasphemy, to *Maris* a *Persian*. About this his Heresie a Synod was held at *Berithus*, before *Photius*, *Eustathius* and *Uranius*, where the Epistle and Contents thereof were condemned. But being commanded to imbrace the first *Ephesine Synod*, which that impious Epistle rejecteth, and to condemn and accurse *Nestorius* with his Followers commanded by that Epistle, he conformed himself to their order, professing that he believed as the Letters of *Cyril* unto *John* did teach, and that he consented to all things done by the first *Ephesine Synod*, accounting their Judgment as inspired by the Holy Ghost. Moreover, at the Instance of *Photius* and *Eustathius* he published in Writing, what he now professed for full satisfaction of such as had been scandalized by his former Doctrine. And on his own accord he promised before these Judges, that he would in his own Church at *Edessa*, and that publickly accurse *Nestorius* as the Ringleader in that Impious Heresie, and those also who were of his Judgment, or who used his Books or Writings. The Acts of these matters being read in Councill, *Eunomius* told the Fathers that seeing *in posterioribus* or *in postremis*, *Ibas* had made a right Confession, (though he did formerly write against *Cyril* and the Faith) he judged him worthy of his Bishoprick, provided he accursed *Nestorius*, *Eutyches* with their wicked Heresies, and consented to the Writings of *Leo*, and this General Council. Now the Orthodox Confession of *Ibas* made before *Photius* and *Eustathius*, the accursing of *Nestorius* and his Heresie, and the imbracing of the *Ephesine* Council is that which *Eunomius* calleth *posteriora* or *postrema*, as following by many years, not onely that which *Ibas* did or said before the Union made between *John* and *Cyril*, but even that impious Epistle written

In the Ninth *Ibas* Bishop of *Edessa* renouncing his Heresie,

Apud Act. Conc. Chalced. Act. 9. p. 108. A.

written after the Union. By this Confession being *posterius*, or later, than the Epistle, *Ibas* had refuted all for which he was formerly blamed, in effect refuting, condemning and accursing that whole Epistle with all the Heresies and Blasphemies in all parts thereof. For this Cause, and in regard of this Holy Confession, the fifth Council afterwards said, that thereby *Ibas had anathematized his own Epistle, being in every part of it contrary to the Faith, both in the beginning and the end.* Coll. 6. p. 56.

17. That this was the meaning of *Eunomius*, the Interlocution of *Eusebius*, Bishop of *Angra*, in this same Council of *Chalcedon* doth make apparent, who expresly mentioning these Acts before *Photius* and *Eustathius*, and the Confession of *Ibas* then made (called by *Eunomius Posteriora*) said thus in the following Session, to which the Conclusion of this matter was adjourned: The reading of that Judgment before *Photius* and *Eustathius* doth shew, that *Ibas* in that Judgment accursed *Nestorius* with his impious Doctrines, and consented to the true Faith. Wherefore I receive him for a Bishop, if he do now condemn *Nestorius*. This was applauded by *Diogenes* Bishop of *Cyzicus*, *Thalassius* of *Cæsarea*, *John* of *Sebastia*, to which all acclaimed, We all say the same. So clear it is, that upon this Confession of *Ibas* made first before *Photius* and *Eustathius*, and after that by this whole Council of *Chalcedon*, and not upon his Epistle nor any part first or last thereof, *Ibas* was acknowledged and received as a Catholick. Whereby appeareth not onely the Errour, but extreme fraud of *Baronius*, who in excuse of *Vigilius*, not onely affirmeth an heretical Untruth, that the latter part of the Epistle is Orthodox, but labours to uphold that untruth by malitious perverting and falsifying, both the words and meaning of *Eunomius*, as if he had said or meant by the *Posteriora*, the latter end of that Epistle. This and more in Confutation of the Cardinal about that Epistle, and in defence of the Fifth Council, and the Acts thereof the Reader may see in the Book of Dr. *Crackanthorp* formerly mentioned, and we shall have too much occasion again to speak of this Subject. As for *Nonnus* who had been put into *Ibas*'s place, the Synod referred it to the Bishop of *Antioch* to take care of him. The most glorious Judges confirmed what the Synod had done, saying, that *what the Holy Council had judged concerning the Reverend Bishop* Ibas, *should retain its own Strength.* And so ended the Tenth Session.

Is restored in the tenth by the Fathers.

18. At the Eleventh Meeting the Synod decreed all things, which had been done in the *Ephesine Latrociny* under *Dioscorus*, should be void and of no effect, the Ordination of *Maximus* Bishop of *Antioch* excepted, and they petitioned the Emperour, that such things as there had passed should not be taken for Authentical. At this Session also contended *Stephen* and *Bassianus*, about the Bishoprick of *Antioch*, both challenging it as his due, and recriminating each other. The Emperour upon the earnest Petition of *Bassianus*, commanded the Synod to examine the Cause. The Fathers were so much divided in their opinions, that they were forced to put it off till their next Meeting. Yet would they generally have given Sentence for *Bassianus*, saying that Equity and Right called for him to be Bishop of the place; but the glorious Judges considering more seriously, and seeing farther into the matter, thought that neither of them both could indeed be Bishop, and the whole Council directed by them altered their Opinion, and said, *This is a just sentence*, this *is the very Judgment of God*. It was therefore resolved that both of them should be removed from the See of *Ephesus*, yet so that they still retained the Episcopal Dignity, and to each should be paid out of that Church, the Annual stipend of 200 *Solidi* for their maintenance. Now a *Solidus* after the time of *Constantine*, as our Learned *Brierwood* hath observed, was worth of our Money Eight Shillings Six-pence Halfpenny Farthing, and Six parts of a Farthing, till the time of *Valentinian*, who increased it to the Value of just ten Shillings. At the thirteenth Session was composed, the difference betwixt *Eunomius* Bishop of *Nicomedia* and *Anastasius* of *Nice*, by a Decree, that forasmuch as *Nicomedia* had ever been the *Metropolis*, and *Nice* had onely obtained that Title by favour of Princes, the Metropolitan Rights should be, and continue in the See of *Nicomedia*, according to the Ancient Canons. The fourteenth Meeting was employed in the Cause of *Athanasius* Bishop of *Paros*, who being accused of sundry Crimes, had been summoned before a Provincial Synod called to *Antioch* by *Domnus* Bishop of that See, to whose Patriarchal Authority the Bishoprick of *Paros* was subject. Refusing to come though thrice cited to appear, he was deposed by that Synod, and *Sabinianus* put into his place. In this Session he complained of wrongfull Extrusion, and petitioned the Council,

In the eleventh the *Ephesine* Latrocine Orders are made void.

At the twelfth the Contest 'twixt *Stephen* and *Bassianus* decided.

In Greek Νόμισμα. *De Antiq. Nummis Roman. c.* 15.

At the thirteenth the difference 'twixt *Eunomius* Bishop of *Nicomedia*, and *Anastasius* of *Nice* composed.

In the fourteenth the Cause of *Athanasius* Bishop of *Paros* discussed.

Council, that his See might be restored to him, excusing himself that he appeared not at the Synod of *Antioch* according to summons, because *Domnus* the chief Judge therein was his Enemy, and thereupon he could not esteem him an equal and indifferent Judge, though he could not but acknowledge him his Patriarch. The Glorious Judges that the matters laid to the charge of *Athanasius*, should be examined in Synod by *Maximus* then Patriarch of *Antioch*; and in case he were found guilty of these Crimes, he should for ever stand debarred from his Bishoprick. But if either in that space of time they examined not the Merit of his Cause, or upon Examination found him innocent, he should then as unjustly deposed be restored to his See of *Paros*, and *Sabinianus* should remain his Substitute till *Maximus* could provide him of another Bishoprick. This Sentence of the secular Judges, the whole Council approved, crying out, *Nothing is more just, nothing is more equal, this is a just Sentence, you judge according to the Mind of God.*

At the fifteenth Meeting were made 27 Canons.

19. At their fifteenth Meeting were twenty seven Canons made, of which we shall in short deliver the substance. " The First confirms such as had been by the " Fathers ordained in former Synods. The Second censureth that Bishop that should " ordain for Money, deposing him and nulling the Orders to him, on whom
1. " they are conferred. In the Third the Synod taking notice at the instance of the
2. " Emperour, how several in Orders hired Lands for Lucres sake, undertook se-
3. " cular employments, and through lazinesse neglected Divine Service, betook " themselves to secular Persons, and for profit became their Steward, and over- " saw their business, decreed that thenceforth it should be unlawfull for any Bi- " shop, Clerk or Monk to hire any Possessions, or meddle with any secular E- " states, excepted such as the Laws did not excuse from the Charge of Tutours " or Curatours, or the Bishop of the City should entrust with the Administra- " tion of Ecclesiastical Affairs, the oversight of Widows or Orphans, or such " Persons that stood in need of the assistence of the Church in the fear of " God. If any acted contrary to this Canon, he should be liable to Ecclesiasti- " cal Censures, by which the Gloss in the Decree tells us, that Excommunication
4. " and Suspension is understood. The Fourth Confesseth that such as chuse true- " and purely a solitary Life are worthy of convenient honour. But certain " Persons in the Habit of Monks, carelesly and presumptuously passing from " City to City, and Monastery to Monastery, and thereby condemning them- " selves, it pleaseth the Synod that no Monasteries or Oratories be builded " or made without the Knowledge of the Bishop of the City, as also that such as " in Cities or Villages live in Monasteries ought to be subject to the Bishop, " be quiet and continuing in these places where first they devoted themselves " to God, be constant in Fasting and Prayer, not medling either with Ecclesiasti- " cal or Secular Affairs, or forsaking their Monasteries, except thereto injoy- " ned for urgent Reasons by the Bishop of the Diocese. Also that no Slave be " taken in to be a Monk, without consent of his Lord. Such as act contrary " to these things they excommunicate, that the Name of the Lord be not blas- " phemed, and resolve that the Bishop take care, and have inspection over the " Monasteries.

Act. Conc. & 25. 91. A sanctis Patribus, 19. 1. si quis Episcopus. Dist. 86. c. 26. Pervenit ad sanctam Synodum.

16. q. c. 12. Qui verè & purè & 18. q. 2. c. 10. Quidam Monachorum.

Μήτε ὑπ' ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς μήτε βιωτικοῖς παρεγκαλεῖν φεύγοντας ἢ ὁμοκοινωνεῖν.

20. " In their fifth Canon the Fathers Decree by reason of those Bishops and
5. " Clerks that passed from City to City, that the Canons made by the Holy Sy- " nods retain their ancient force and vigour; which former Synods, as we have " seen before, ordained, that No Ecclesiastical Person without some lawfull and " weighty cause should forsake his Calling and Station in
6. " one place, to remove into another. The Sixth enjoyns, " that No Presbyter or Deacon be ordained absolutely or " without a Title, nor out of a publick place, as a Church " or a Monastery. Such as are ordained without Title, " it pleaseth the Holy Synod that the Imposition of Hands " upon them be void and null, to the reprehension of those
7. " who so ordain them. The Seventh Forbids Clerks or " Monks to turn Souldiers, or aspire to Secular Honours, Anathematizing such " as having so done should not return to their former station. As to the latter Part concerning Honours, the *Gloss* tells us here is meant onely such places of Honour wherein Jurisdiction of Bloud is exercised, or filthy lucre, or personal service is required; else it appears by other Laws that a Bishop or Clerk may enjoy Secular Dominion, so he exercise what belongs to Bloud by his Deputy. The
8. Eighth Canon declares, that " Clerks whether in Hospitals, Churches dedicated " to

7. q. 1. Propter eos Episcopos. c. 26.

Dist. 70.

Εἴμη ἐδικῶς ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ πόλεως ἢ κώμης ἢ μαρτυρίῳ ὁ χειροτονούμενος, &c.

20. q. 3. Eos qui Semel. c. 3.

Ut 88. Dist. Episcopus gubernationem & 5. q. 4. quia Johannes.

" to Martyrs, or Monasteries, are according to the tradition of the Holy Fathers " under the Power of the Bishop of the City, from which they ought not pre- " sumptuously to withdraw themselves. Therefore such as shall rescind this " order, and refuse to be subject to their own Bishop ; if Clerks, it subjects " them to the punishments inflicted by the Canons, according to their quality ; 9. " if Monks or Lay-persons, it deprives them of Communion. The Ninth decrees, that *One Clerk having a quarrel against another, the matter shall be decided by their Bishop. If a Clerk have a Controversie with his own Bishop or another, it shall be judged by the Provincial Synod, or* (as *Theodore Balsamon* expounds it) *by the Metropolitan of the Province. But if any Bishop or Clerk have any Controversie with the Metropolitan, let him betake himself to the Primate of the Diocese, or to the See of the Royal City of* Constantinople, *and there be Judged.* That this is a true and genuine Canon *Nicholas* the first of that Name Bishop of *Rome* confesseth, but both he and the later *Romanists* miserably torment themselves in expounding it, as not knowing how to evade the stroke which it gives to their pretended Supremacy. *Ep. 1.*

The ninth whereof giving appeals to *Constantinople* very much perplexeth the *Baronians* and the *Romanists* to expound for their turn.

21. They are forced so to expound the word Diocese, as meant of the whole word it self, as if any one meanly conversant in Church Antiquities knew not there were many Dioceses of old. And by the *Primate* they will mean none other than him of *Rome*, though the Sun be not clearer than this, that there were several other Primates besides him, and they so ridiculously expound this Canon, as commanding all Appeals to be made from the Metropolitans to the Pope in all places of the World, and permitting onely the same to be done to the Patriarch of *Constantinople* by those who inhabited near to that City. Now can it be imagined that these Fathers should forbid Appeals from the Metropolitan to the Patriarch of the Diocese, whenas by a Decree of those of *Nice* Appeals lye to him ? In no case but by the ambiguous titles given to Primates, these *Romanists* impose upon unwary Readers. For as we said formerly, there being fourteen Dioceses in the Church, over each of them one Bishop presided with Patriarchal power, under several Names and Titles, as sometimes of Patriarch, sometimes of Metropolitan, otherwhiles of Primate, Exarch or Prince, which last is given to *John* the Patriarch of *Antioch* in this very Council of *Chalcedon.* All these fourteen Primacy Bishops had the same equal Patriarchal power, although at first three and afterwards six of them were especially and by way of eminence called Patriarchs. So insulse and silly is that plea that the *Roman* Bishop is here meant, because the word *Exarch* is used, that (as *Berterius* himself observeth) in this very Council this same word is used to signifie the (*a*) Primate of the East or him of *Antioch*, and for proof that the Primates had this title he alledgeth (*b*) this very ninth Canon upon which we insist, withall proving, that even the Byshop of (*c*) *Tyre* in the eighth Synod hath given him the Title of *Exarch*, who yet was not reckoned in the number of Patriarchs or Primates. *Act. 1. p. 22.*

Pithan. Diatrib. 2. c. 1.

(a) Rursus ab Exarcho Orientis Diœcesis evocatus est.

(b) Καταλαμβανέτω τὸν Ἔξαρχον τῆς διοικήσεως.

(c) Ὅρος Θωμᾶ μητροπολίτου Τύρου πρωτοθρόνου καὶ Ἐξάρχου, καὶ τοποτηρητοῦ τῆς Θεουπόλεως.

22. The meaning therefore of these *Chalcedonian* Fathers was this, that seeing (as appears from * a constitution of *Justinian de foro Clerici & Episcopi accusati*) the Council of *Nice* or some other had prescribed the form and method of Appeals to be, that first they should lye from the Bishop to the Metropolitan, from him to the Primate, the Prince, Exarch or Metropolitan of the Diocese, and to no others, a General Council onely excepted ; out of respect to the Dignity of the Imperial Seat they conferred this Honour on the Bishop of *Constantinople*, that it should be lawfull for any Bishop in any Diocese whatsoever at his choice, if he thought he should not be indifferently heard, to appeal from the Metropolitan of the Province or the Provincial Synod, to the said Bishop instead of the Exarch or Primate of the Diocese. Another meaning of these Fathers seems to have been this : that whereas formerly it was unlawfull to appeal from the Definitive Sentence of the Primate or Patriarch to the Tribunal of any other Patriarch or Bishop , to doe Honour to this Imperial Seat, they gave leave to appeal to the Bishop thereof from any Sentence of Primates or Patriarchs, which the words themselves , *Let him repair to the Exarch of the Diocese, or the Seat or Bishop of the Royal City*, seem, though obscurely to hint, but practice and the Imperial Law formerly mentioned plainly declareth, wherein is enjoyned that *If after appeal to Patriarchs or Metropolitans, or any other Bishop sentence be pronounced which displeaseth any party, if this party appeal, the appeal must lye to the See of* Constantinople, *wherein, as the Custome was, the matter is to be determined.* To the Patriarch of *Constantinple* therefore

* *L. Sancimus ut nemo de Episcopali Audientia. L. 29. Cod. Justin.*

sore from the sentence of any other Patriarch or Diocesan Primate Appeal was granted, and from him none, except to a General Council, to which, as the *African* Fathers, in their Letters to * *Cœlestine*, affirm it lawfull to appeal, so these of *Chalcedon* never intended to barr any one concerned of that liberty. And particularly as a † Learned Protestant observeth, as from any Province, so also from that of the *Roman* Patriarch himself Appeal is allowed by this Holy and Oecumenical Council, to the Bishop of *Constantinople*, but on the contrary from him of *Constantinople* or a Primate of any other Diocese to the *Roman* Bishop the liberty of appeal is granted in no cause whatsoever.

* *Conc. Afric. Can. ult. vel* 105.

† *Crackanthorp. Defens. Ecclesiæ Angl. contra Spalat. c.* 31.

10. 23. The Tenth Canon * prohibits " Clerks to pass from " a Church in one City to one in another; or if a Clerk " be translated to another, to have to doe with the former " upon pein of Deposition. How the *Gloss* endeavours to reconcile this Canon with later Laws and Practice is too long here to be shewn, and therefore the Reader may at his leisure consult it. The Eleventh " † Forbids a Clerk or Rea- " der to Minister in any strange place whatsoever without Letters commenda- " tory from his own Bishop. In the Twelfth the Synod taking notice that certain " Persons had procured Pragmaticks or Rescripts from Princes, for dividing one " Province into two, so that two Metropolitans happened to be in one and the " same Province, forbad any Bishop to attempt the like for the time to come, under pein of Deposition. This Canon the *Gloss* restraineth and limiteth, in * case the multitude of People encreaseth in the Province. The Thirteenth, or rather the Eleventh, ordains, that " All Indigent Persons shall have *E-* " *pistolia* or *Pacifick* Letters, and not Commendatory. The Fourteenth for- " bids *Psalmists* and *Readers* to take Wives of another Sect. If any hath " already so done, the Synod commands, that Their Children Baptized by " Hereticks be presented to the Catholick Church, therein to communicate. " If they be not yet Baptized, they are in no wise to be Baptized by Hereticks, " neither to be Married to any *Heretick*, *Jew* or *Pagan*, except such Person " to whom they are Married engage to conform to the Orthodox Faith. The " Fifteenth declares, that A Deaconess ought not to be ordained till forty years " of Age, and then not without diligent examination. If being ordained she had " served at all in this Ministry and married afterward, the Canon anathematizeth " her, and him that married her. At this Age indeed a Woman might know " whether she could bear the condition of *Cœlibate*, and consequently those great " disorders would be prevented, which have been too common amongst Girls " insnared in this course of life. But forasmuch as Chastity is the gift of God, and in the power of none perfect in either Sex, the humour of this Age is hereby dis- covered too much admiring and doting on forced Virginity. This the next or Sixteenth Canon farther evinceth, which "Commands that no Virgin which had dedica- " ted herself to God, or Monk, should Marry, under pein of Excommunication; yet " they decree that they be gently dealt with if the Bishop of the place think fit.

* 21. *q.* 1. *c.* 2. *Clericum in duarum Ecclesiis civitatum eodem tempore conscribi non oportet.*

† *Ibid.* 2. *c.* 3. *Signis jam.*

11.

12. *Dist.* 17.

Dist. 110. *c.* 1.

* *Ut* 16. *q.* 1. *Præcipimus, & Dist.* 99. *Nulli.*

13.

14. *Dist.* 32. *quoniam in quibusdam.*

15. 27. *q.* 1. *Diaconissam non debere c.* 23.

16. 27. *q.* 1. *Siqua virgo. c.* 22.

17. 24. " The seventeenth enacts that Bishops retain those Countrey Parish Church- " es whereof they are in Possession, especially if they have kept them without " violence the space of thirty years. But if within this term of years there " hath been or shall happen to arise any controversie about them, it shall be law- " full for such as think themselves aggrieved to traverse their cause in a Pro- " vincial Synod. And if any think himself injured by his own Metropolitan, he " may either betake himself to the Primate of the Diocese, or to the See of *Con-* " *stantinople*, as was said before, *viz.* in the 9*th.* Canon. But if any City be al- " tered by the Authority Imperial or shall be altered for the time to come, the " order of Parish Churches shall be conformable as to Civil and Publick Orders. " The eighteenth forbids upon pein of Deposition all Asso- " ciations and Conspiracies amongst Clerks or Monks a- " gainst Bishops, made it seems in behalf of *Eutyches* and " his Doctrine. The ninteenth commands the Bishops to " hold Provincial Synods twice a year, according to Anci- " ent Canons. The twentieth commands a Clerk ordained " in one Church there to stay, and not betake himself to " another, except out of Necessity when they lose their " former places. If any Bishop hereafter receives any such Clerk belonging to " another Bishop it pleaseth the Holy Synod that both the Clerk and the Recei- " ver remain so long Excommunicated till the Man return to his former Church, " agreeable

16. *q.* 3. *c.* 1. *Per singulas Ecclesias.*

18.

11. *q.* 1. *c.* 1. *Conjurationum & conspirationum quod apud Græcos, φεγτεία dicitur, &c.*

19. *Dist.* 18. *c.* 6. *Pervenit ad nostras aures.*

Dist. 11. *Clericos. c.* 4.

20. *Caus.* 2. *q.* 7. *c.* 49. *Clericos aut Laicos.*

12. *q.* 2. *c.* 43. *Non liceat Clericis.*

" agreeable to what the *Nicene* Fathers had formerly decreed in their 16 Canon.
21. " The one and twentieth requires that such as accuse Ecclesiastical Persons be not
22. " lightly admitted except they be Men of known repute. The twenty second for-
" bids Clerks to rifle the goods of their deceased Bishop (which it seems was at this
" time practised and had been prohibited by former Canons) under Pein of in-
" curring Deposition. This Canon was long after reinforced by the *Laterane*
23. " *Council* (*Cap.* 4.) under *Innocent the second.* In the twenty third the Holy Sy-
" nod taking notice that certain Monks without any order from their Bishop and
" sometimes by him Excommunicated, repair to the Royal City of *Constantinople,*
" where they disturb the Peace of the Church, and corrupt several Houses, or-
" daineth that they first be admonished to depart the Town, if they refuse,
" to be forced out and compelled to return to their own places by the *Defen-*
" *sor.*

16. *q.* 1. *c.* 17. *Quidam Monachi nihil habentes.*

" The twenty fourth Canon commands that such Monasteries as had been so
24. " made by consent of the Bishops continue such and be not again changed to se-
25. " cular uses. By the twenty fifth notice being taken how certain Metropolitans neg-
" lected their Flocks, and deferred the Ordination of Bishops, it therefore ordains
" that Consecration of Bishops be made within three Months except there be
" absolute Necessity of protracting the time, under pein of heavy censure. As
" also that the whole Revenue of the vacant Church be collected and laid up by the
26. " Stewards thereof. In their twenty sixth the Fathers signi-
" fie how they are informed that in certain Churches, Bi-
" shops manage the Revenues thereof without any Oecono-
" mus or Steward, therefore they resolve that every Church
" having a Bishop have also its Steward, or *Dispensator,*
" one of its own Clerks who by the consent of the Bishop shall Administer the
" Income thereof that there may be witness how it is managed, lest waste be
27. " made of its substance and the Priestly dignity be ill spoken off. The twenty
" seventh censureth such as commit Rapes and thereby get themselves Wives, as
" also such as assist them if Clerks with Deposition, if lay Persons, with the Ana-
" thema. Besides these 27 Canons are three more extant in the Tome of the
Councils whereof the first confirms the former Decree of the *Ephesine Synod* about
the Privileges of the See of *Constantinople. For, following in all things,* as the Ca-
non runs, *The Decrees of the Holy Fathers and acknowledging that lately read, of the* 150 *Bishops lovers of God, we also decree and ordain the same things concerning the Privileges of the most holy Church of* Constantinople *being* New Rome. *For on the throne of Ancient* Rome, *because that City was the seat of the Empire, the Fathers deservedly bestowed Privileges. And the* 150 *Bishops moved by the same consideration gave equal Privileges to the most holy Throne of* New Rome, *rightly judging that the City which was honoured with Empire and a Senate and enjoyed equal Privileges with the Ancient Lady* Rome, *ought to be extolled and magnified no loss than she also in Ecclesiastick matters, being the next to her, and that the Metropolitans onely of the Dioceses of* Pontica Asiana *and* Thracia, *as also, the Bishops of the said Dioceses amongst the Barbarians should be ordained by the foresaid Throne of the most holy Church of* Constantinople, *each Metropolitan of the said Dioceses together with the Bishops of the Province ordaining the Provincial Bishops, as it is delivered in the Divine Canons. But as is said the Metropolitans of the forenamed Dioceses are to be ordained by the Archbishop of* Constantinople *convenient Elections being made according to Custome, and thereof Notice being given to him.*

Three Canons more.

The first concerning the privileges of the See of *Constantinople.*

Quia in quibusdam. & caus. 16. *q.* 7. *c.* 21. *Quoniam in quibusdam ubi vide quæ notantur in glossa de Episcoporum & aliorum Oeconomis.*

Caus. 36. *q.* 2. *c.* 1. *Eos qui rapiunt.*

Can. 206. *Ecclesiæ universalis.*

Παντα χῦ τοῖς ὑπὸ ἁγίων πατέρων ὅεγις ἔπεσθαι.

Ὁι πατέρες ἀποδιδόασι τὰ πρεσβεῖα διὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν ἡ πόλιν ἐκείνην. Ἴσα πρεσβεῖα ἀπονεῖμαι τῷ ἁγίας Ῥώμης ἀμοτάτῳ θρόνῳ.

26. By this Canon the first dignity and Precedence was confirmed to the *Roman* Patriarch as bestowed on it by the Ancient Fathers, not out of any consideration that his Church was founded by St. *Peter or any other,* but out of a secular respect to the Dominion and Sovereignty of that City, as Mistress or Sovereign of the Empire, the Polity of the Church corresponding as near as possible with that of the State. Now that *Constantinople* was put into the same Capacity with *Old Rome* as to Majesty, Sovereignty and Dominion, the Fathers found the same reason for conferring the same Privileges upon her, though much to the regret and stomach of *Leo* his Legates, who not being present when the thing passed, came into the Council the next meeting and protested against it. But this would not doe, their alledging the *Nicene Canons* signified little, the Fathers having in their Memory what had passed between the Bishops of *Africk* and the former *Roman Prelates.* They urged that the subscriptions to this Canon were forced and wrested from the Bishop by plain constraint which was flatly denied by such as had subscribed. Then did the glorious Judges interpose and gave sentence that the chief Honour

was

was to be given to the See of *Old Rome*, yet Primacy and the like Privileges to that of the *New*, which now as well as the other was ordained with the *Fasces* of the Empire, so that the Bishop thereof should have power to ordain Metropolitans in *Asiana*, *Pontica* and *Thrace*, leaving the Authority to the Metropolitan of each Province to consecrate Bishops. Yet would not the Legates be satisfied, but required that the Decree might be suspended till the Judgment of *Leo* might be had about it, to which it's said the Synod Assented. But *Liberatus* affirms that the contradiction and Protestation of the Legates was rejected, and how little account was made of it, or of the opposition of *Leo* himself appears by the practice of following times, as well as what formerly has been said of this Subject. As for this Canon none either have called in question the truth or the force and validity of it, except those concerned in behalf of *Rome*. Its found in all *Greek* Copies, besides several *Latin* ones, as one above a thousand years Old in *Justellus* his Library, another in that of *Monsieur de Thou*, which abundantly discovers to us the truth and sincerity of those *Roman* Copies wherein it is wanting. " There are " besides those 28 Canons two other mentioned, whereof the first forbids a Bishop " to be reduced to the Decree of a Priest making it Sacrilege and requiring that " if any Bishop be for just cause degraded, he lose also the Priestly Office. The " last contemns what the Fathers resolved concerning the *Ægyptian* Bishops who " desired their subscription to the Epistle of *Leo* might be respited till their Metropolitan was chosen.

Quod vidisse testatur Dr. Basier.

All which are confirmed by the Emperour's Edict.

27. All business being now dispatched, the Synod desired of the Emperour that he would confirm what they had done. He accordingly gave his Royal Assent which was followed by Acclamations often ingeminating *Thou hast confirmed the Orthodox Faith.* The Fathers also caused their Synodical Epistle full of respect to be written to *Leo* the *Roman* Patriarch wherein letting him know that they were assembled by the Sanction and Decree of the Emperour, they tell him what they had done and desire him to honour * them with his Approbation. For it was requisite for the Peace of the Church that such Bishops as could not be present in these Oecumenical Councils should approve and confirm what had been done therein. Not that there was any need of judicially determining and defining any controversie or giving the Decision full and perfect Authority, for that had been already done in the General Assembly wherein all Bishops were either personally present or implicity and justly supposed to be there. But when they should give their express consent to what they had formerly ratified but implicitly, this would stop their mouth for the time to come, remove or prevent all objections arising from difference and opposition, and whereas we are apt to be drawn more by Example than precept, gain greater repute and conformity to the Decrees. Therefore did this Council seek the Approbation of *Leo*, who being most eminent for the dignity of his See, and very considerable for his personal Qualifications, might be more capable through his Example of doing good or hurt; after by consenting to procure Peace and Conformity, or by dissenting to make a rent and schism in the Church. On this same account did *Theodosius* the Emperour and *Cyril* labour so much to have *John* the Patriarch to consent to the Decrees of the *Ephesine Synod* against *Nestorius*, for they knew it would be a great means to draw in the rest of the dissenters, as indeed it proved. The truth was, all the Fathers could doe was little enough to preserve the Church in quiet, and prevent that extravagance both in opinion and practice which the lusts and passions of Men so frequently procured. Therefore to revive the Memory of former Decrees did each Council, as it were, present a new Table of what had passed in such as had been before it. So did the Council of *Constantinople* confirm that of *Nice* with the Faith decreed therein, and this of *Chalcedon* all three preceding Oecumenical Synods, and the second *Nicene* Synod or Conventicle all the six which had been before it, although each of them was of as great Authority before, and as to their intrinsick value needed not the Confirmation of the subsequent especially of the later *Sancto.*

In perpetuum quæ à vobis terminata sunt serventur. Orthodoxam fidem confirmasti.

An Epistle sent to *Leo* to subscribe to what had been done at this Session.

** Rogamus tuis decretis nostrum honora judicium, Ep. Synod. ad Leonem, post Act. 16.*

Can. 1.

28. Farther, the Ancient Christian prudence of these Fathers, for these very reasons, directed them to make use not onely of General Councils but of Provincial Synods, not onely of Patriarchs but particular Bishops to confirm their General Synods, and the Decrees thereof. Thus the great *Nicene Council* was confirmed, as they themselves phrase it, by *Eusebius* Bishop of *Nicomedia* and *Theognis* of *Nice* two exiled Bishops for the cause of Heresie in token of their repentance and conversion. So the Synod Assembled at *Milan* confirmed the Acts of the *First Ephesine Council*, as *Binius* himself observeth. And this very Council of *Chalcedon*

Confirmare decrevimus, apud Socr. l. 1. c. 10.

Not. in Conc. Rom. 3. sub Sylvestro.

Chalcedon at the instance of Pope *Leo*, when some began to carp at its Decrees, was confirmed by an Edict of the Emperour *Leo*, who commanded also the several Bishops to declare their Judgments concerning its Doctrine, that the Council of *Chalcedon* might be again confirmed, saith *Binius*, by the Consent and Confession of all these Bishops. In obedience to his Command some did it of themselves, as *Anatolius*, *Lucianus*, *Sebastianus* and *Agapetus*, besides several others, some jointly as the Bishops of *Egypt* and *Europe* in their Synodal Epistles, which are joyned to the Acts of this Council. It is not to be imagined, that the Testimony of single Bishops could give any Authority to an Oecumenical Synod, nor yet Provincial Councils which consisted but of 19 Bishops as that of *Milan*, or but of seven as that of *Syria*, or six as that of *Mæsia*, five as that of *Syria Secunda*, or no more than four as that of *Osroena*. But much advantage was gained by these Testimonies, and this may be added to what we have formerly mentioned out of Dr. *Crackanthorp*, that every one hereby either approved himself to be Orthodox in Judgment, or upon refusal appeared to be heretical in Doctrine, and stood sufficiently convicted, so that such a Wolf could not doe mischief in Sheeps cloathing, the Church having sufficient notice and warning of him. But thus as the forementioned Learned Person observeth, Confirmation of Synods by Bishops was twofold. The Confirmation of those present in Council is *Judicial*, the latter Confirmation by the Absent is *Pacifical*. The former *Authoritative*, such as gives the whole Authority to any Decree, the latter whether by succeeding Councils, or absent Bishops is *Testificative* witnessing them to be Orthodox in that Decree. The former joyned to the Imperial Confirmation (which is necessary to the making of a Lawfull Council) is *Essential*, essentially making both the Council an approved Council, and all the Decrees thereof approved Synodal and Oecumenical Decrees: the latter is *Accidental* which graceth a Bishop, but little or nothing the Synod, and being denied doth neither disgrace the Council, nor impair the Dignity or Authority thereof, but extremely disgracing the party that denies it, pulls down upon him both the just Censures of the Church, and the Civil Punishments due to Hereticks and Contumacious Persons.

A twofold Confirmation of Synods by Bishops.

29. So small reason is there for *Baronius* to infer, that because the Fathers desire the Assent of *Leo*, therefore they thought their Acts invalid without his Confirmation. But thus ended this famous *Chalcedonian Synod*, which our Learned *Crackanthorp* tells us he never read or almost remembred, but with a kind of Amazement; he admired the rare Piety, Prudence, Integrity, Moderation and Gravity of those most Glorious Judges, who supplying the Emperour's place in his Absence were the Imperial Presidents in this Council. Had they or such been wanting at this time it may justly be feared, considering the eagerness and temerity, not to say the insolency of the Pope's Legates in this Synod, that this Council of *Chalcedon* had proved a worse Latrociny, than was that second of *Ephesus*. All being dispatched, the Fathers returned to their several Churches. *Dioscorus* was banished to *Gangra*, a City of *Paphlagonia* where he died. In memory of the Condemnation of the *Eutychian Heresie*, the *Greeks* ordained an Anniversary solemnity on the *16th.* of *July*, as appears by their Menology. And *Martianus* the Emperour to follow on the stroke, and add the secular Arm to the Spiritual sword, published an Edict directed to *Palladius* the *Præfectus Prætorio*, bearing date on the 26 of *January*, or the *6th.* of *February* next following. For it is extant at large in the Acts of the Council, and part of it in *Justinian's Code*, being there falsly ascribed to *Valentinian* and *Marcian* together, and here falsly dated with the Consulship of *Patricius* and *Richimeres*, whereas it appears by the *Fasti Consulares*, that in the second year of *Marcian*, *Heraclianus* and *Asporatius*, bore the Consular Office. This Law, several expressions whereof are taken out of the Synodal Acts, forbids all Persons whatsoever to dispute of Christian Religion in Assemblies, seeking thereby occasion of tumult and perfidiousness. He adds a reason that this would offer manifest Injury to the Judgment of the most Reverend Synod assembled lately at *Chalcedon* by his (*a*) Command, which followed therein the Apostolical Doctrine according to former Decrees of the *Nicene* and *Constantinopolitan Councils*. The Offenders both as Factious and (*b*) Prophaning the venerable Mysteries before *Jews* and *Pagans*, if Clerks should be deposed, if Souldiers deprived

An Edict condemning the *Eutychian* Heresie.

Act. 3. Cod. de summa Trinit l. 4. & in Synop. si Basilicon. 1. Tit. 1. c. 4. Adde huic legi titulum integrum, Cod. Theod. de his qui Religione contendunt, lib. 16. Tit. 4.

(a) Qui Chalcedone convenerunt per nostra præcepta.

(b) Sed etiam Judæis & Paganis ex hujusmodi certamine prophanant veneranda Mysteria.

prived of the Military girdle; Others if Free should be banished from *Constantinople*, and otherwise punished, if Slaves chastized with the greatest Severities. Thus much of the Fourth Oecumenical Council, concerning the Integrity of the Acts whereof let the Reader Examine what Dr. *Crackanthop* applieth to the frivolous objections of *Baronius*. This and the three former, as made in the purest Ages have been deservedly had in greatest esteem, and of strongest Authority by all sober Christians. The Pope of *Rome* at his promotion (as appears from what *Deusdedit*, the Cardinal noteth in his Collection of Canons) of old time swore, according to a former, exemplified by *Gratian* in his Decree out of his Day-book, *To observe these four Councils to a Tittle, professing to follow and preach what they held and decreed, and both with Heart and Mouth, to condemn what they condemned.* This ancient Oath as our Divines observe, badly agreeeth with the late *Bulla lænæ*, wherein the *Roman* Patriarch forbids Appeals from himself to a General Council. So doth the Profession of *Zozimus*, formerly mentioned. But from that ancient Oath, a Learned Man inferreth that the *Roman* Bishop cannot justly plead that he is superiour to these Councils, except he arrogate to himself Power over the four Gospels

Canones 4 Concil. pro legibus habeantur, vide c. de sacrosanctis Ecclesiis. l. 4. l. 12. §. 1. Novel. 131. c. 2.

Dist. 16. c. 8. Ex diurno Libro Professio Romani Pontificis.

Seschasserius in Consult. Venet.

Another to the same purpose, but ordering the Writings of *Eutychius* to be burnt.

30. The Imperial Edict of *Martianus* against the *Eutychian* Errours did so little good, that he was constrained to enforce it by another, bearing date on the 13*th.* of *March* following, wherein he subjects them to the same Pains and Penalties as formerly. Yet would not all this doe, for such Tumults were made in *Egypt*, and the Eastern Parts, that he was forced afterwards in this same year to add greater Punishments, and command the Books and Writings of the *Eutychians* to be burnt. By a particular Rescript also, he asmuch as in him lay abolished the Memory of the Arch Heretick, and revived that of *Flavianus*, because honoured as he saith by such, and so great a Testimony of almost innumerable Priests, in the Synod of *Chalcedon*. Into the Seat of *Dioscorus*, banished by the Emperour's Command, was elected *Proterius* by the General consent of the Council, as *Evagrius* writes, about which great Tumults and Bloud-shed happened at *Alexandria*, some of the People closing with his promotion, and others being for the recalling of *Dioscorus*. The Commander of *Thebais* placed his Guards to keep the Peace, but the Inhabitants set upon the Magistrates, and drove the Souldiers into the old Temple of *Serapis*, where they burnt them alive. The Report hereof coming to Court, the Emperour sent down to *Alexandria* three thousand disciplin'd Souldiers, who setting upon the Townsmen, and ravishing their Wives and Daughters, a more fierce and cruel Uproar happened than the former. At length *Florus* the Governour of the Garrison, gratifying the Multitude in the Restitution of the Corn he had taken from them, their Baths and solemn Shews for which they moved, quieted their Minds, and restored Peace for a certain time. But whilst matters thus were ordered at *Alexandria*, the Monks of *Palestine* inhabiting the Desarts near to *Jerusalem*, who had been at the Council and dissented from it, returning home and complaining of the form of Faith laid down by the Synod, by their stories exasperated those of their Profession, perswading them that the Fathers who had made the Decrees were all *Nestorians*. *Juvenalis* the Bishop of *Jerusalem* they expelled, and in his room elected *Theodosius* the Captain of the Rout, a cunning and resolute Fellow, who had drawn *Eudoxia* the Empress Dowager to the Heresie of *Eutyches*, whilst she recided in that City. Having invaded the Chair, he took upon him to place new Bishops in the Sees of those who were not yet returned from the Council, and visiting the Cities of *Palestine*, as Metropolitan, compelled them to receive other Pastours addicted to his Heresie and Faction, using such with great Cruelty as resisted his proceedings.

Act. Conc. Chalc. Act. 3.

Cod. lib. 1. Tit. 3. de Episcop. & Clericis. l. 23.

Proterius elected in the Seat of *Dioscorus*, upon which a Tumult arises at *Alexandria*.

Lib. 2. c. 4. ex Prisco Rhetore. Liberatus in Breviar. c. 15. Niceph. lib. 5. c. 19.

Juvenalis Bishop of *Jerusalem*, deposed by the Monks, who set up *Theodosius*.

Who commits several Outrages there.

31. *Severianus* Bishop of *Scythopolis*, for so doing he drove out of the City, and then procured him to be slain. *Athanasius* a Priest after various Tortures he caused to be beheaded, his Body to be dragged up and down the Streets of *Jerusalem*, and at last cast to the Dogs. Some he killed, others he plundered or burnt their Houses, so that *Jerusalem* represented a Town lately taken by an Enemy. When *Martianus* heard of these disorders, he commanded this Villain to be apprehended and brought to his presence, and sending down *Juvenalis* with a sufficient Power to redress the former Abuses, commanded him to depose as many as *Theodosius* had advanced to the Priestly Order. But the Bird was flown

By the Emperour's Protection and Power *Juvenalis* is restored to his See.

flown e'er the Souldiers could lay hands on him, and though he was gone, yet the effects of heretical and cruel demeanour still continued, as in other places the same furious humour raged amongst the *Eutychian* Hereticks, where they could get advantage. This same year being the 454 of our Lord, *Valentinian* and *Martian*, the Emperours published an Edict, whereby *They decreed that the Privileges granted to all Churches by their Predecessours, should remain firm and inviolable. All pragmatick Sanctions, which through Favour or Ambition had been procured against the Ecclesiastical Canons, they command to be void, and of no effect. And because it concerned them in point of Humanity, to have a care of those that stand in need, and take order they want not maintenance, the Salaries which divers ways had been formerly paid to the Churches out of the publick stock, they command still to be continued and discharged without any failing or defalcation whatsoever.*

Privilegia quæ generalibus constitutionibus universis sacrosanctis Ecclesiis orthodoxæ religionis retro Principes præstiterant firma & illibata in perpetuum decernimus custodiri.

Omnes sane pragmaticas sanctiones quæ contra Canones Ecclesiasticos interventu gratiæ vel ambitionis elicitæ sunt, robore suo & firmitate vacuatas cessare præcipimus, &c. Cod. lib. 1. Tit. 2. l. 12. *inscript. Palladio Pp. Dat. Aetio & Studio Coss.*

By this Edict it appears, that all Privileges granted by Emperours which were agreeable to the Sense of the Church, conducing to Order and Government, and not contrary to the Canons were so far from being nulled and revoked, that they were strengthened and confirmed, onely those which had clandestinely and surreptitiously contrary to Ecclesiastical Decrees, been as were wrested from Imperial Powers. What reason then *Baronius* hath to conclude that this Rescript was purposely, and at the Request of *Leo* Bishop of *Rome* granted against *Anatolius* and the See of *Constantinople*, the Reader will easily apprehend, seeing that the Primacy and Jurisdiction thereof, was so far from being procured *Contra Ecclesiasticos Canones*, that it was founded upon the Canons of two several Oecumenical Synods, neither ought the Cardinal to object the Decrees of the *Nicene Council*, except he will plead that the same Power that makes a Law cannot rescind it, or that the Church Universal supposed it to be in the Synods of *Constantinople* and *Chalcedon*, aswell as that of *Nice* cannot according to the Exigency of times, and Comportment of Affairs, bind and loose and change its own positive Laws in things indifferent. The Canons of *Nice*, whatever *Leo* or those of his party pretend, were of force to bind any particular Bishop or Patriarch whatsoever, but not a Council as General, as Lawfull, and consequently as Authoritative as it self.

An Edict concerning the Ancient privileges to Churches.

32. But because there is nothing in this Edict which can possibly perswade the Reader to be of the Cardinal's opinion, he tells him that this which we find now in the Code he conjectures to be but a parcel of that which the Emperours published this year, meaning indeed that though there be no mention of *Constantinople* in this, yet in the other Part there was, and *Justinian* seems to have left it out at the publishing of his Code, because he intended to make a new Law contrary to it, which is that of his thirteenth Novel, the second Chapter. From this must necessarily follow then that *Justinian*, contrary to former Canons, and consequently contrary to the four first Councils, and the practice before his own time, gave Prerogative and Precedence to the See of *Constantinople* after that of Old *Rome*; for if this fragment (as he would have it) which is left contradicted not that which is lost, then nothing was therein forbidden but what was contrary to the Ecclesiastical Canons; and *Justinian* again recalling what *Baronius* will have *Martian* to have disanulled, must have acted contrary to the said Canons, Councils and, as we may conclude, former practice. See therefore how bravely the forementioned Novel cited by the *Annalist* makes this out. In the first Chapter of that Novel the Emperour decrees, that * *The Holy Ecclesiastical Canons have the force or nature of Laws*, he means *those which had been made or confirmed by the four Holy Councils*, viz. *that of the three hundred and eighteen Fathers assembled at* Nice, *the hundred and fifty at* Constantinople, *in the first* Ephesine *wherein* Nestorius *was condemned, and at* Chalcedon *where* Eutyches, *together with* Nestorius, *was anathematized. For the Doctrines of these four Synods we receive as the Holy Scriptures, and their Rules (or Canons) we observe as Laws:* this is the first Chapter of the Novel. Then follows the second in these words: † *Therefore according to their Definitions we decree, that the most Holy Pope of the Elder* Rome *be the first of all Priests: and the most Blessed Archbishop of* Constantinople

* *Sancimus igitur vicem legum obtinere Sanctas Ecclesiasticas Regulas quæ à sanctis 4 conciliis exposita sunt aut firmata, hoc est in Nicæna 318, & in Constantinopolitana Sanctorum 150 patrum, & in Ephesina prima in quâ Nestorius est damnatus, & in Chalcedonia in quâ Eutyches cum Nestorio anathematizatus est. Prædictarum enim 4 Synodorum dogmata sicut Sanctas Scripturas accipimus, & regulas sicut leges observamus.*

† *Ideóque sancimus secundum earum definitiones sanctissimum senioris Romæ Papam primum esse omnium sacerdotum: beatissimum autem Archiepiscopum Constantinopolis*

being

being New Rome, *have the Second Place after the Holy Apostolick See of Old* Rome; *but be placed before all other Sees.* These words, *Therefore according to their Definitions*, manifestly shew that what the Emperour *Justinian* did, was not contrary to the four Councils, but agreeable to, and founded upon their Decrees, and what the Emperour *Martian* prohibits being onely contrary to them, the Primacy of *Constantinople* could not be meant by that Part of the Edict. Then for the practice before *Justinian*'s time, let the Reader consider what we have formerly said of that subject, and how Appeals lay to the see of *Constantinople*, from another Novel of that Emperour.

nopoleos novæ Romæ secundum habere locum post sanctam Apostolicam senioris Romæ sedem: aliis autem omnibus sedibus præponatur. Auth. Collat. IX. *tit.* XIV. *Novel.* CXXXI. *p.* 184. *Cod Justin.*

33. In the latter Part of that Edict of *Valentinian* and *Martian*, they take care that the *Accustomed Salaries be paid to Churches*, and that || out of consideration that it became them as an *Act of Humanity* to provide for those in distress, and doe their endeavour that maintenance may not be wanting to the Poor. Seeing therefore that Churches were long before this time endowed not onely with Titles, but with good Laws and Revenues; this Law seems especially to provide for the Inferiour sort of Clerks or Ministers in the Churches, such as the *Clerici copiatæ* formerly mentioned. That such provision had been formerly made by Christian Princes out of their Customs or Tributes throughout the Cities, which being taken away by *Julian* were restored by *Jovian* the Emperour, the * History of those Times bear mention. So *Numa*, as † *Livy* tells us, assigned Pensions to the *Vestal Virgins* out of the publick Revenues, and the Kings of *Ægypt* paid the third part of their Tributes to the maintenance of the Priests, as we have in the History of that Ancient Kingdom observed out of || *Diodorus*: *Plato* thinks fit and just that those who serve the Publick, should be maintained at the Publick charge. But thus much did *Martianus* the most Religious Emperour for preservation of the Doctrine of the Church in its purity, the discipline thereof in its true decorum and vigour, as also for the comfortable subsistence of the Ministers thereof. And all this was in Relation to the Church it self, in things Intrinsical and Domestick. Here it's convenient also to take notice what he did for her relating *ad extrà*, or respecting the old Pagan Superstition, of which we have not heard a long time. The very same year therefore that he assembled the Council at *Chalcedon*, for the rooting out of Heresie, he published an Edict for the utter destruction of Paganism, its Rites, Temples, Images and Sacrifices, commanding in the name of his Collegue and of himself, that *None should dare to open those Chapels which had now been long shut up, with an intention to pay there any Worship or Adoration. Let it be far from us in this Age* (say they) *to give the ancient Honour to infandous and execrable Images, to have the impious posts of Temples trimmed with Garlands, profane Fires kindled on Altars, Incense to be burned thereon, Beasts to be killed for Sacrifice, Wines to be offered, and Sacrilege to be accounted Religion. But if any one contrary to this Sanction of our Serenity, and the Interdicts of most Holy and Ancient Constitutions shall offer to Sacrifice, let such an one be legally indicted before the publick Judge, and being convicted, forfeit both his Estate and Life. Let such also as are Accessories or Ministers in Sacrificing undergo the same penalties, that being deterred by the Severity of this our Law, they may forbear to Sacrifice for fear of punishment. And if the Rector of the Province after legal Accusation and Conviction forbear to punish so great a Crime, let the Judge himself be fined * fifty Pounds of Gold, and as much his Office to the Exchequer. Given on the twelfth of* November, Martianus Augustus *and* Adelphius *being Consuls.* Directed to *Palladius* the *Præfectus Prætorio.*

|| §. 2. *Et quia humanitatis nostræ est egenis prospicere, ac dare operam, ut pauperibus alimenta non desint: salaria etiam quæ sacrosanctis Ecclesiis in diversis speciebus de publico hactenus ministrata sunt jubemus nunc quoque inconcussa & à nullo prorsus imminuta præstari: liberalitatique huic promptissimæ perpetuam tribuimus firmitatem.*

* *Theod.* 4. 4. *vide quæ annotantur ad hanc legem per Interp.*
† *Lib.* 1.
|| *Lib.* 2.

An Edict against Paganism.

Setting forth the Ceremonies thereof.

Nemo venerandi adorandique animo delubra, &c. Cod. Justin. l. 1. *tit.* 11. *l.* 7. *De. Paganis.*

* *Libra Argenti valet* 3 *l. Auri* 36 *l. obrizi* 37 *l.* 10 *s. continet libra* 12 *uncias ponderat grana* 6012. *Budæus de Asse lib.* 5. & *Brierwoodus nostras de Nummorum pretiis c.* 21.

34. From the wording of this Law the Reader may observe, as to the state and condition of the times, that the Old Pagan Superstitions were not quite defunct, else there had not needed any such Edict against the Superstitious Ceremonies thereof. Yet that it was at the last gasp appears by the long time the Chapels had been shut up, expressed by the word *Olim*, and especially from the severe remedy provided by this Rescript against the evil. For in this case there is some conformity betwixt the ordering of the Body Natural, and the Body Civil. In both, desperate, acute and sudden distempers must have desperate remedies, quick and active applications, such as search, and either kill or cure. But in distempers of a state which have been long and general, which use and custome have rendred seemingly legal, aswell as habitual, the Physician must proceed as in

in inveterate Diseases which are founded in the Bloud, and radicated in the complexion of the Parts, in the curing of which he must proceed *pedetentim*, and Purge gently, lest by evacuating the bad he drive out also the good humours, and practise rather an altering than a purging course, lest in a very foul and plethorick Body the humours being set afloat and driven into a firmentation, prove too headstrong and turbulent for nature to govern. This appears from what *Constantine the Great* prescribed in this case, who at the beginning of the Reformation ordained the terrour of death as a Medicine against this Sacrificing Evil, punishing in like manner the Governours of the Provinces if they neglected to apply this Cautery to that Cancrous distemper. But his Successours who had time and opportunity to see the opperation found it too violent and therefore laid it aside till by applying of more gentle and altering Medicines the whole body was able to bear it; and therefore now did *Marcian* renew (rather than make any new Law) when the ill humours were so diminished that by putting them into a motion and disturbance no dangerous fever or other Symptome could be feared. But neither did this suddenly effect the cure without some other Applications as we shall see hereafter. In the mean time from this Law, the Reader may observe what were the Ceremonies of Paganism and the Worship of Idols in their Temples, and Chapels.

Placuit omnibus locis atque urbibus universis claudi protinus templa, &c. Dat. Cal. Decembris. Constantio IV. *& Constante, A.A.Coss. viz.A. D.* 342. *Cod. Justin. lib.*1. *tit.* 11. *l.* 1.

35. About this time *Prosper* a Priest of *Aquitain* in imitation of *Eusebius* composed his *Chronicon* wherein he briefly notes what passed from the beginning of the World to the eighth Consulship of *Valentinian* (which was the last year of his Life) and that of *Anthemius* or the 455*th.* year of the ordinary *Æra* of our Lord. The third Edition as *Bucherius* and *Miræus* observe reached to this year. For there had been two former whereof the first ended at the 14 Consulship of *Theodosius* which he bore with *Maximus* or the year 433, as appears from his summing up the *Epocha*'s of all the former years, which is not usually done but at the end of Books. The second Edition contained the space of 12 years more reaching as far as the 6 Consulship of *Valentinian* and that of *Nonius* or the year 445, at which his ordinary Chronicon wont to be joyned with those of *Eusebius* and *Jerome* receiveth its period. The third Edition reaching as low as the year above mentioned, of which *Miræus* mentions three several Manuscripts, is much better than the two former, containing besides a short and pithy account of things from the beginning of the World the *Fasti* of the Consuls from the 15*th.* year of *Tiberius* downward. But in this Age flourished three or four several Persons bearing the name of *Prosper*, concerning whom *Bucherius* disputeth at large.

Prosper concludes his Chronicon.

In Chron. Belg. ad Ann. 455.

Ad Victorii canonem 6. *vide Miræum.*

36. This same year, *viz.* 455 before the Death of *Valentinian* did he and *Martianus* publish an Edict or a General Law as they call it whereby they restore Ecclesiastical Persons to their Ancient Liberty of having and enjoying what should be left by the Testaments of Women, which as we have formerly seen had been taken away by former Emperours. This Law directed to *Palladius* the *Præfectus Prætorio*, *Justinian* hath put into his Code, but the Note upon the Text tells us that at this day the Case is altered by two Authenticks immediately following which the Reader may consult at his leisure: The year following *Martianus* made another Edict, whereby he gave (*a*) liberty to the Actour or Plaintiff to implead the Clerks of *Constantinople* either before the Patriarch or the Secular Judge, for where the *Reus* or Defendant hath several Courts not privileged *jure Communi* or by Common Law the Election is in the power and discretion of the Plaintiff. The next year by a constitution in *Greek*, (*b*) he declares that thinking it to be a point both of Humanity and Piety he permits Hereticks to be buried in the Sepulchres of their Ancestours. There's yet another Edict of this good Emperour which because it respects pious uses and is very short, though it bear no date, we shall add to the former. This ordains that what is left to the Poor either by Testaments or Codicils shall not come to nothing as left to uncertain Persons, but remain good and firm to all intents and purposes. For though their Persons be uncertain yet the Poor never failing there are always certain objects of charity, and as *Baldus* noteth upon the place, the Poor are like a College, which represents a certain Person. The Legacy

Several Edicts of the Emperours concerning Testaments.

Generali lege Sancimus sine vidua, &c. Cod. lib. 1. *tit.* 2. *l.* 13.

(*a*) *Cod. lib.* 1. *tit.* 3. *c.* 25.

Dat. 8. *April. Varari & Joanne Coss.*

(*b*) Ἀνθρώπινον καὶ ὅσιον τὸ λογιζόμενοι, τοὺς Αἱρετικοὺς ἐν τοῖς προγόνοις θάπτεσθαι τῶν νενομισμένων τάφοις. *Lib.* 1. *tit.* 5. *l.* 9. *Vide tamen C. Sacris.* 12. *extra, de sepultura.*

Id quod pauperibus Testamento vel codicillis relinquitur, non ut incertis personis relictum, evanescat, sed omnibus modis ratum firmumq; consistat. Cod. lib. 1. *Tit.* 3. *l.* 24.

gacy may be said to be certain as left to God himself: it may be done also by privilege; or the Testamentary Executour, or the Executour by Law, *viz.* the Bishop, may easily find out certain poor Persons on whom to confer the designed Legacy.

37. Thus went matters in the Eastern parts under the care and Inspection of *Martianus* the Emperour. In the Western and Southern there was no such serenity, a dismal Cloud of persecution having overspread *Africk*, since the invasion of that Countrey by *Genfericus* that *Arian* Captain. Most glorious were the confessions and sufferings of many Martyrs as well here as in other places, as *Italy*, *Sardinia*, *Greece*, *Epirus*, *Illyricum* and *Spain*, or wherever the foresaid Rover touched. *Deogratias* the Bishop of *Carthage* removing in this direfull persecution to a place of more repose and security, after he had steered that weather-beaten Church some three years, the Tyrant would suffer none to be chosen in his place, who having driven the Priests and other Ministers of the Church several ways as they shifted for themselves, commanded the Doors of the Church to be shut, and plainly forbade any Bishops to be ordained in other Provinces, so that when *Victor* wrote the story the number of 164 was reduced to three. But this good came of so great an evil, that these Orthodox Confessours retiring farther into the Inland Countries there preached the Gospel, and though they became Martyrs many of them for so doing yet their Bloud as in other cases proved the seed of the Church, many Barbarians who had never formerly heard of *Christ* being converted to the Faith and incouraged by the constancy of their Teachers. At such time as this mighty Tempest raged in *Africk* a storm was also raised in *Ægypt* by another and contrary sort of Hereticks who, as *Genfericus* denied the Divinity of Christ, would not acknowledge his Humanity. These were of the faction of *Dioscorus* whose Deposition as they extremely grudged, so they sought all ways to be revenged on *Proterius* his Successour. At length they understood that *Martian* the Emperour was dead, through whose incouragement they had been condemned in a Synod by *Proterius*, they came down to *Alexandria* headed by one *Timotheus Ælurus* formerly a Monk, since that a Priest of *Alexandria*, whom they Create Bishop of that See though *Proterius* was yet living. But long they intended he should not be, for setting upon him in the Church being then in the Baptistory on the high Feast of *Easter*, and the day whereon the Supper of the Lord was to be solemnized, they there Cruelly murthered him, dragged his dead body through the streets, tore it in peices, tasted of his Intrails, and burning at last what remained scattered the ashes in the Wind. The Villain *Timothy* to bring about these designs putting on black Clothes wandered up and down by night in the Cells of the Monks, and calling each of them by their names through an hollow Cane that his voice might not be discerned, told them he was one of the Ministring Spirits sent expressly to tell them all that they should not Communicate with *Proterius* but make *Timotheus Ælurus* Bishop of *Alexandria*.

A Persecution in the West.

De Persecut. Vandal. lib. 1. & Procopius de bello Vandal. lib. 1.

Euagrius lib. 2. c. 1. Liberatus in Breviar. c. 15. Theodorus lector collectan. l. 2. Epp. viror. ill. pro conc. Chalced.

And stirs at *Alexandria* by the faction of *Dioscorus*.

Proterius Bishop thereof murthered by *Timotheus Ælurus* who seises on the See.

38. Being thus prosperously though wickedly seated in the Chair, out of fear of a Competitour, and lest he should receive the same measure he had given to others, he sought to prevent his own ruine by the destruction of those whom he had sufficient cause to believe incensed against him. Therefore did he rage in *Alexandria*, and all *Ægypt* with a cruel Persecution against the Orthodox of all Ages, Sexes and Conditions, banishing such Bishops as he could not otherwise Master. On the dead Emperour he railed exceeedingly, reviled the *Chalcedonian Council*, and vilified the several Fathers assembled therein. The Orthodox Christians herewith acquainted the new Emperour *Leo*, giving him a perfect account of what had passed. But those *Eutychian Hereticks* were as busie as they, writing Letters to the Emperour by Messengers of their own, wherein taking no notice at all of the Murther of *Proterius* they magnifie that peace and settlement which the Government of *Timotheus* had brought to the Church of *Alexandria*. And whereas the Emperour required that all Metropolitans should give him an account of their Faith, to see how they stood affected to the Council of *Chalcedon*, they gave him boldly an account both of their own belief and that of *Timotheus*, professing to receive the *Nicene Creed* and the *Ephesine* Synods (as well the second or Predatory as the first) but absolutely rejecting the *Chalcedonian*. *Leo* the Emperour not knowing how in this case to steer his course, by his Encyclical or Circular Letters consulted not onely all the Bishops (whereof *Anatolius* especially) but other Persons eminent for learning or Godliness at this time. *Leo* the *Roman* Patriarch blasted their project of having another Council assembled, by shewing that there would be no end in gratifying Hereticks by those very things wherewith the universal Church had been once satisfied, and whereas they so much

Vide epist. apud Euagrium lib. 2. c. 8.

Leo Epp. 73. &c.

much talked of the Council of *Nice*, he proved that this Synod defining onely the Controversies at that time, relating to the Divinity of Christ, when his Humanity was not once questioned, it was not sufficient to own its Creed, but the Profession of the Fathers of *Chalcedon* also, wherein matters relating to his humane Nature were determined. Not onely *Leo*, but all the rest disallowed of the Election of *Timothy*, as contrary to the *Canons* of the Church, and approved the Decrees of the Council of *Chalcedon*. Onely *Amphilochius* Bishop of *Sida* wrote an Epistle to the Emperour, wherein he inveighed against the Election of *Timothy*, yet approved not the Council of *Chalcedon*, which things (saith *Euagrius*) are written by *Zachary Rhetor*, together with the Epistle of *Amphilochius*. *Simeon* also (he meaneth *Simeon Stylita*, who at this time lived in a Pillar) a Man of worthy Memory wrote concerning the aforesaid Controversies, two Letters, one to *Leo* the Emperour, another to *Basilius* Bishop of *Antioch*, whereof that to *Basilius*, being but short, he reciteth. *Lib. 2. c. 10.*

39. This year being the 457 of our Lord upon occasion of the Controversie about *Easter* two years before, *Victorius* or *Victorinus* of *Limosin* in *Aquitain* (both which at this time were held by the *Wisegoths*) being then at *Rome*, as he himself witnesseth in the Preface, published his Paschal Canon, which *Bucherius* a Jesuit caused to be printed at *Plantin*'s Printing-press in *Antwerp*, with a Commentary thereto adjoined of his own Labour and Study, in the year 1633. This year died *Basilius* the lately mentioned Patriarch of *Antioch*, in his second year, to whom succeeded *Acacius*: As also *Anatolius* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, after he had governed that See almost Nine years, into whose place was promoted *Gennadius* an eminent Priest of that Church, not the Ecclesiastical Writer, but a Man very Witty, Eloquent and Learned. The year following his Election was held at his City of *Constantinople*, a Synod of 73 Bishops summoned out of the neighbouring Provinces, wherein the Legates of *Leo* being present, the late *Chalcedonian Council* was confirmed. The Acts of it are all lost, one Canon made against Simoniacal Persons excepted. This same year died *Acacius* the newly ordained Bishop of *Antioch*, and was succeeded by *Martyrius*. And the next after when *Leo* the Emperour was now fully satisfied concerning the *Chalcedonian Synod*, and the Heresie aswell as other Villanies of *Timotheus Ælurus*, he commanded him by a Rescript directed to the *Præfectus Augustalis* to be banished (several mention several places) and then was chosen into his place, another *Timothy* sirnamed *Basilius Solifaciolus* or *Albus*. At this time died *Simeon* called *Stylita* from his having lived in a Pillar about 80 years, who by *Theodoret* and others is celebrated as the wonder of the World, for his extraordinary Sanctity. To him succeeded in the like strictness of Monastical Life, *Daniel*, who not far from the Borders of *Constantinople*, ascended the Pillar. The year following was the last of *Leo* Bishop of *Rome*, who died on the Eleventh of *April*, a Man of unblameable Life, excellent Endowments of Mind and indefatigable Industry, not onely for the Primacy of his See (wherein he shewed himself zealous far above reason) but the good of Christian Religion. Out of his Epistles the *Centuriatours* of *Magdeburg* have collected many Decrees, which the Reader if he please may consult, there being nothing in them so highly material as to bring them into our Institution. His eminent Parts, and his great diligence have got him in later Ages, both the Name and Reputation of the Great.

Basilius Patriarch of *Antioch* dies, *Acacius* succeeds.

Anatolius Patriarch of *Constantinople* dies, to whom *Gennadius* succeeds.

A Synod held there.

Acacius of *Antioch* dies, *Martyrius* succeeds him.

Timotheus Ælurus banished and *Timothy Solifaciolus* is made Bishop of *Alexandria*.

Leo Bishop of *Rome* dies.

Niceph. l. 15. cap. 22. Euagrius lib. 2. cap. 11.

Apud Balsam.

Consulas Surium si placet & Baronium ad hunc Ann.

40. After the Death of *Leo*, the See was vacant seven days, saith *Platina*, but rather so many Months as *Baronius* gathereth both from *Marianus Scotus*, and a *Roman* Council assembled under his Successour, from which it appears that the Chair was not filled by another Bishop, till *November* following. This was *Hilarus* the Son of *Crispinus* a *Sardinian* by Birth, whom when yet a Deacon, *Leo* sent one of his Legates to the Synod of *Ephesus*, being the 48*th.* Bishop of *Rome* according to *Platina*, the 45*th.* according to *Panvinius*, and as *Marianus* reckons the 46*th.* This Bishop is very much commended, for vigorously executing his Pastoral Office amidst all the great Troubles, wherewith *Italy* in his time was imbroiled. For repairing the Churches which the Barbarous *Hunns* had defaced when they took the City. In his expences he was rather profuse than sparing. He built some Monasteries, and added to certain Churches the Chapels which he called *Oratories*. He also as *Sabellicus* will have it collected the Pontifical Decrees into one Body, and dispersed them into all Countries. To him certain Epistles are attributed, wherein he confirms the three General Synods of *Nice*, *Ephesus* and *Chalcedon*, condemns the Heresies of *Nestorius*, *Eutyches* and all others, and according to the Custome of his Predecessours

Hilarus succeeds him.

Who holds a Synod at *Rome*.

decessours lately taken up, asserts the Primacy of his own See. In his fifth year he held a Synod in the Church of St. *Mary*, about some questions propounded to him out of *Spain*, concerning the Ordination of Clerks, and against Bishops their designing of their Successours. To the Decrees next after him subscribed *Maximus* Bishop of *Turin*, not that he was next in Dignity, there deing some Metropolitans also present, but the Custome generally was, that the Fathers took place according to their Seniority, not in Age, but Consecration, yet so as the Principal Patriarchs were excepted. *Hilarus* (for so he is to be read, and not *Hilarius*) died on the tenth of *September*, when he had governed the *Roman* See five years and ten Months all but two days. Much about the same time died *Prosper*, having been Bishop of the *Rhegienses*, *Reienses* or *Retenses* in *Provincia Narbonensi secunda* about 24 years, to whom succeeded *Maximus* Abbat of the Monastery of *Lerinum*. The same year also departed this Life *Crispinus* Bishop of *Pavia* in *Insubria*, into whose place was elected *Epiphanius*, one equal to him in Sanctity, and his Superiour in Learning, in the Judgment of *Baronius*. To *Hilarus* the *Roman* Patriarch succeeded *Simplicius* the Son of *Castinus* a Citizen of *Tibur*.

Tom. 2. Conc.

Dies.

Prosper Bishop of *Rhegiensis* dies, *Maximus* succeeds him.

Papiensis aut Ticinensis Notit. Eccles. universalis Dioces.

To *Hilarus* succeeds *Simplicius*.

41. In the last year of *Hilarus* Bishop of *Rome*, and the tenth of his own Reign, *A. D.* 466 did *Leo* the Emperour publish a large Edict, concerning the Privileges of Churches, granting them such as had been taken away by former Emperours, and constituting them Asylums or Sanctuaries as formerly, to all out of *Constantinople*, Slaves excepted, and giving Rules to the *Oeconomi* of the said Churches, how they should order those that fled to them, in reference to the satisfaction of their Creditours. Three years after, in the Consulship of *Martianus* and *Zeno*, he published another Edict concerning the Election of Bishops, making therein what Provision he could against Simoniacal Intrusion. This same year on the 13*th.* of *December*, he published another Law enjoyning the observation of Holy-days in general, but especially of the Lord's Day, as to which he doth very much inlarge himself, in the particulars he forbids to be practised on it. The Emperour *Constantine*, as we have formerly observed in its due place, had commanded all Judicial proceedings and Servile works to cease on this day, tilling of the ground excepted, by reason of the uncertainty of weather. Afterwards *Gratian*, *Valentinian* and *Theodosius*, prohibited all publick Shews upon this day, and added to what *Constantine* had commanded concerning Judges, that none should arbitrate any litigious Cause, or take Cognizance of any pecuniary matters on this day. Five years after this, *Valentinian*, *Theodosius* and *Arcadius* publishing a Law concerning Holy-days, and reckoning up the Calends of *January*, the Birth-days of the greatest Cities, *viz.* the *Old* and *New Rome*, seven Days before and as many after *Easter*, *Christmas*-day, that of the *Epiphany*, the days of the Martyrdom of the Apostles, and their own Birth-days with the days of their coming to the Empire, reckon amongst them *Sundays*, or rather, as their Ancestours rightly called them the Lord's Days, wherein they forbid Arbitrations to be practised. *Theodosius Junior* five and thirty years after, as the *Carthaginian* Fathers had desired, ordained by another Edict, that aswell upon the Lord's Day as on *Christmas*-day, the *Epiphany*, *Easter*-day, and from thence to *Whitsuntide*, the Theatres and Cirques should every where be shut up, that the Minds of Christians might be wholly intent on the Service of God.

Præsenti lege decernimus, &c. Cod. lib. 1. Tit. 12. l. 6.

Several Edicts of the Emperour concerning the Lord's Day, and Holy-days.

Lib. 1. Tit. 3. l. 31.

Cod. l. 3. Tit. 12. l. 3. A. D. 321.

Cod. Theod. lib. 8. Tit. 8. A. D. 384.

Cod. l. 3. Tit. 12. l. 7. A. D. 389.

In eadem observatione numeramus Dies Solis quos Dominicos ritè dixere majores.

Cod. Theod. lib. 15. Tit. 5. A. D. 425.

42. So stood the Lord's Day in reference to Imperial Laws, till this Edict of *Leo*, wherein confirming what had been done as to Holy-days in general, he commands all Judiciary proceedings to be stopt on this day, wherein he will have Adversaries meet without fear. Neither forbidding business doth he give way, as he saith, thereby to observe pleasures, prohibiting the Theatre and Cirque to be opened, and the *Spectacula* of wild Beasts. Nay if a Solemnity happen upon his Birth-day, or of his Promotion it must be deferred. If any should be present at the *Spectacula* on this day, or any Apparitor Act contrary to what he had ordained either upon account of publick or private business, he punisheth him with loss of his Employment, and Proscription of his Patrimony. Besides these Laws respecting Religion made by this Emperour *Leo*, there are several others without date, which the Reader if he please may find in the Code of *Justinian de Sacrosanctis Ecclesiis, & de Episcopis & Clericis*, concerning Churches, Ecclesiastical Persons and their Professions, which to relate would be too tedious for our present

Nec hujus tamen Religiosi diei otia relaxantes, obscœnis quenquam patimur voluptatibus detineri. Nihil eodem die sibi vindicet. Scena theatralis, aut Circense certamen, aut ferarum lachrymosa spectacula, & vide quod notant Interp. ad hanc legem quæ est ult. Tit. 12. Lib. 3. Cod. Justin. de feriis.

Lib. 1. Tit. 2. 3.

The Acts of *Basiliscus* the Tyrant made void.

present design, and make not so much for our purpose. Onely one we cannot but mention, and that is a Constitution whereby the extravagances committed during the Tyranny of *Basiliscus* were rescinded, and those things recalled which had been in use before his flight into *Isauria* for fear of the said Tyrant. For this *Basiliscus* ruling, as we have formerly written, matters in the East according to his will and pleasure, rejected the Council of *Chalcedon*, and what *Leo* the Bishop had written in defence thereof by his circular Letter written to all Bishops, which *Evagrius* and *Nicephorus* call συλλαβὰς ἐγκυκλίας. From *Acacius* the Patriarch of *Constantinople* the Successour of *Gennadius* who opposed his doings, he took several Provinces, formerly subject to him, and had almost driven him from his See, as he had dealt with many Bishops, as of *Antioch*, *Alexandria*, *Ephesus*, *Tarsus*, and others. Therefore by this Edict doth he antiquate and make null, as we said, all things done under the Tyranny against the God of the Orthodox Religion, against Churches, particularly those under the government of the most Blessed and Religious Patriarch his Father *Acacius*, all Innovations in the Rights of Creation, expulsion of Bishops, their Prerogative in Councils and out of Councils of Place, or as Metropolitans or Patriarchs. *As for the Sacrosanct Church of that most Religious City* (these are the Phrases of the Edict) *both his Mother and of all Christians of the Orthodox Religion, with the most Holy See of that Royal City he adjudgeth and decreeth in contemplation of the said Royal City that it enjoy for ever all Privileges and Honours aswell in Creation of Bishops, as sitting above others; and all other Rights which it was known to have either before or under his Reign.*

Suidas in voce Βασιλίσκος *& vide quæ notantur per Interp. ad hanc legem quæ est 16. tit. 2. libri, 1. de Sacrosanct. Ecclesiis.*

Decernimus ut antiquatis ac infirmatis funditus his quæ contra ipsum orthodoxæ Religionis Deum quodammodo facta sunt; &c.

And precedence given to *Constantinople.*

Sacrosanctam quoq; hujus Religiosissimæ civitatis Ecclesiam & matrem nostræ pietatis & Christianorum orthodoxæ Religionis omnium & ejusdem Regiæ urbis Sanctissimam sedem, &c.

43. This Constitution is dated on the 17*th* of *December*, in the Consulship of *Armatius* alone, who bore that Office with *Basiliscus* the Tyrant, who yet is not mentioned here, nor named in the *Fasti*, because he was an Usurper, and was condemned by *Zeno*. This Consulship fell in the 476 Year of our Lord, and consequently the third after the Death of *Leo* the Elder, so that it must belong to his Grand-Son the Young *Leo*, and made by his Father *Zeno*, though *Baronius* place it at the 472, and the 16*th* of the Old Emperour. However, it being made (as the Cardinal saith) in behalf of the See of *Constantinople*, and the precedence of all others next after the Patriarch of *Rome*, it is manifest that by the antiquating of Innovations, and restoring the ancient Rights of this Church, it had and enjoyed this precedence before the making of this Law. If it was procured through the solicitation of *Acacius*, and that *Simplicius* the *Roman* Bishop was much concerned about it, be it so, If it was *Acacius* his due, as it verily seems to have been, he had more right to seek it than the other to grudge it. But this is certain aswell from this Law as others, that this Privilege was granted in consideration of the *Royal*, and if that was the Reason why the See of Old *Rome* obtained the First Dignity, as we have seen it was from good testimony, certainly there was no reason they should quarrel. But such are the humours and passions of Men otherwise good: and as here we leave them, so we shall find them again engaged in this quarrel about the Primacy. About this time was *Sidonius Apollinaris*, that Man so famous for his nobility and excellent wit, made Bishop of the *Arverni* or *Auvergnais* in *Gallia Celtica*. He had Married *Papianilla* the Daughter of *Avitus* the Emperour, and she was still living. Though in mighty esteem, yet he thought so meanly of himself, that in his Epistles he often complains of his unworthiness for such a Calling, and betook himself from his wonted Festivity to a more sober Conversation. Much about the same time also died *Gennadius* Bishop of the *Rhemeses* or *Soissons*, to whom succeeded *Remigius*, afterward called the Apostle of the *Franks*; neither this *Gennadius*, nor he of *Constantinople* was he whose Book is extant concerning Ecclesiastical Writers, and was of *Marseilles* in *Provence*. As the Death of *Leo* the Elder wrought a great change in the State, so also in the Church, by reason that *Zeno* his Son-in-Law too much favoured if not the Doctrine, yet the Persons of Hereticks.

Sidonius Apolinaris Bi- of *Arverni* in *Gallia Celtica.*

Gennadius Bishop of *Rhemesis* dies. *Remigius* succeeds.

Zeno the Emperour recalls *Fullo* a heretick, expelling *Martyrius* Bishop of *Antioch* placeth him in the See. And also *Timotheus Ælurus* into *Alexandria* expelling *Timotheus Solifaciolus* the Orthodox Bishop.

44. He recalled *Fullo* an Apollinarian and Eutychian Heretick, who had been Banished by *Leo*, and expelling *Martyrius*, who was formerly driven away by the said *Fullo*, and again restored, placed him in the See of *Antioch*. *Timothy Ælurus* also that villanous Usurper, and Banished in like manner by *Leo*, he sent back to the Church of *Alexandria*, whence he expelled *Timotheus Solifaciolus* the Orthodox Bishop, and committed many outrages against such as had owned

ed and received him. At this time the condition of the Churches in *Gall* was very sad, the Arian *Goths* making havock of all things. And not onely there, but in the *West*, generally things both Ecclesiastical and Civil had a very bad face, the Barbarous Nations overturning all, and filling all places with their Cruelties and Heresies. These disasters put an end to the *Roman* Empire in the West, *Augustulus* being deposed by *Odoacer*, and confined to a Castle near to *Naples*. The Church, blessed be God, had not just the like measure; but Church and State are so nearly allied, and so much sympathize, that if the one languish, the other can scarcely be in an healthy condition. As the same causes produce the same effects in both, so aswell the remedies are alike, as such preservatives as keep both in life and vigour. Therefore did Ancient and Primitive prudence as Twins cloth them with the like forms and fashions of Government, which dayly experience applauds as most agreeable. And because such is their Alliance and agreement we shall limit and terminate our observations of both with the same Periods, those matters last mentioned falling out the year preceding the deposing of *Augustulus*.

Augustulus and the Empire in the West overthrown by *Odoacer*.

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